

**Taking the Nation to Heart: A Musical
Exploration of the Role and Significance of
Emotional Geographies in the (Re)Production
of Scottish National Identities.**

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Declaration

I, Nichola Wood, hereby declare that the work contained herein is my own and has not previously been presented for examination.

Nichola Wood
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Abstract

Nation and nationalism are powerful political ideas whose tenacity has intrigued social scientists since the 1920s. Many academic commentators recognise that the power and persistence of nation and nationalism is underpinned by the emotional attachments that people have to these ideas. However, few consider *why* or *how* these political phenomena gain their emotional power. This thesis challenges these omissions by thinking about the emotional geographies which (re)produce and maintain Scottish national identities. In order to access the emotional content of 'Scottishness' the empirical research focuses on musical performances; a medium of expression which has always been recognised for its emotional engagements. Drawing on research carried out at two 'Scottish' music festivals – Celtic Connections and T in the Park – this work employs a mix of experimental and more conventional qualitative methods ranging from participant sensing to in-depth interviews.

My methodological approach attempts to engage with the established conviction that identity is a dynamic process in a positive and meaningful way. The research therefore attempts to capture Scottish identities in the making; it focuses both on what 'Scottishness' *is*, and on what 'Scottishness' *might become*. More specifically this work is concerned on the one hand with how 'Scottishness' is (re)presented and recognised through musical forms and idioms, and, on the other hand, with how Scottish characteristics are constituted through performance and listening practices. One of the main arguments made is that ideas of nation, nationalism and national identity gain their emotional power from their capacity to allow people to feel secure, temporally connected and socially and culturally rooted. Musical performances seem to inspire the shared and 'intimate' experiences that underpin such feelings. However, the argument is made that nationhood and nationalism are not the only or the most equitable or useful political vehicles through which these emotional geographies can be channelled. Indeed, the same emotional geographies could inform the establishment and maintenance of alternative socio-political structures that deliver wellbeing in more effective and just ways.

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Chapter One

Introduction

This thesis seeks to address an important gap that exists in current theories of nation and nationalism. Whilst many commentators acknowledge that the power and tenacity of nations and nationalism is underpinned by the emotional attachments that people have to these phenomena (Calhoun 1997, Connor 1993, Ignatieff 1994a and Penrose 1995 and 2002) few have considered *how* or *why* these political structures gain their emotional power. I seek to redress this imbalance by deconstructing the emotional 'black box' of nations, nationalism and national identity. Drawing on a case study of 'Scottishness' my research aims to gain a better understanding of the role that emotions play in the (re)production, legitimisation and persistence of nationhood. In order to achieve these aims my work studies the ways in which ideas of 'Scottishness' are expressed, experienced, lived and (re)defined through everyday cultural practices.

My work necessarily involves an engagement with the political geographies of nation and nationalism and the emerging field of emotional geographies. One of the biggest challenges of my research involves the issue of how those emotional geographies that work within and through the political geographies of nation and nationalism can be accessed. The problem here is that 'the emotional' is a form of tacit knowledge where "we can know more than we can tell" (Polanyi 1966: 4). As Gertler (2003)

2 Introduction

suggests one way to access tacit knowledges is to study the performances and practices that inform our knowing. In the context of my interest in the emotional 'black box' of nation and nationalism it seems that focusing on a study of musical performances could be one route to understanding how nations and nationalism gain their emotional power. Music is widely recognised as a medium of communication that is particularly emotive (Juslin and Sloboda 2001a, Kivy 1980, Langer 1951, McClary and Walser 1988, Matravers 1998, Wood 2002 and Wood and Smith, forthcoming) and its emotional power has often been harnessed for various political ends (Lahusen 1993, Kasmir 2002, Mitchell 1996 and Negus 1996). Therefore, a study of the practice and experience of musical performances potentially offers one way of exploring the emotional power of nations and nationalism. However, music is not only useful for achieving my research objectives because of its emotive qualities. There are two additional reasons for why a study of musical performances might help me to gain a greater understanding of the role of emotion in (re)productions of 'Scottishness'.

First, as Said argues in his (1991) work *Musical Elaborations*, music is a way of thinking through or with cultural practices; a way of ascertaining what is possible, attainable and knowable in the world (see also S.J. Smith 2000). With this in mind an engagement with musical performances potentially offers an ideal way of exploring the emotional 'black box' of nations and nationalism; a way of apprehending those tacit knowledges that lie at the heart of emotional experiences of national identity.

Secondly, musical performances allow for an active engagement with (national) identities in the making. It has been the contention for some time that identities are a process and not an entity (*cf.* Bondi 1993, Hall 1996 and Rose 1993). A study of musical performances offers the opportunity to explore the practice of identity formation. However, current approaches to studying musical performances appear to be inappropriate for achieving these ends as they rarely engage with the ‘doings’ of musical performances. Therefore, my work has involved the development of a research methodology that engages and experiments with non-representational styles of thinking (Thrift 1996). Indeed, as will become apparent later, this mode of thought turns attention to the act of making links between political geographies of nation and nationalism and geographies of emotion.

If developing a research methodology that allows me to access the emotional geographies of nation and nationalism is the biggest challenge of my thesis, then it is closely followed by the problem of which musical performances to study. Indeed, the nature of ‘Scottish’ music is an empirical question rather than a straightforward descriptive category (as will be discussed in chapter five). Therefore in order to try and prevent confining ‘Scottish’ music to a single genre or performance location my work is based on two contrasting, national-scale music festivals: Celtic Connections and T in the Park. Fieldwork was carried out during 2000 and involved combining a number of relatively innovative research methods with more conventional in-depth interviews with audience members, musicians and festival organisers. The qualitative breadth of my data allows for an in-depth exploration of those processes through which people form emotional attachments to ideas of Scottish nationhood.

I begin this thesis by exploring the contested and complex explanations that surround questions of the origins and substance of concepts of nation and nationalism. Once I have established my own position within this diverse literature I move on to think more specifically about what Scotland and 'Scottishness' are. In chapter three I then explore the relationships between musical performance, emotion and the (re)production, experience and expression of national identity. I outline the ways in which musical performances have 'traditionally' been studied and argue for a more nuanced methodological approach, which draws on non-representational thinking and an active engagement with performance practices.

Although my research focuses on individual musical performances chapter four provides the social, cultural, political and economic contexts in which these events were performed. Here I think about how the ways in which the festivals are organised and promoted – and, in particular, the ways in which they are potentially 'staged' as 'Scottish' events – might 'set the scene' for people's experiences of 'Scottishness'. As the reader will discover for themselves, Celtic Connections and T in the Park offer quite different contexts for studying 'Scottishness' which, in turn, affected the ways in which I carried out research at each festival. Once the methodological approach has been clarified I examine, in chapter five, the ways in which musical performances (re)produce and (re)present ideas of 'Scottishness'. Where possible (and appropriate) I supplement my description and analysis of 'Scottishness' with audio illustrations, which can be found on the accompanying CD on the inside of the rear cover of this thesis. Unfortunately, due to the sale of

broadcasting rights at both festivals, I was unable to audio or video-record any of the musical performances that I attended. Therefore the CD is a selection of pre-recorded pieces that acts as a simple illustration of some of the kinds of sounds that I encountered during my fieldwork. Apart from a couple of instances where specific pieces of music are explicitly discussed all other tracks have been selected by myself as general examples of artists' works. Such self-selection could be seen to potentially offer a biased range of illustrations however, given the frequent inability of audience members to remember the names or lyrics of individual pieces it is an unfortunate, but necessary outcome. A full discography is available in appendix eight and the reader is alerted to accompanying tracks either directly in the text or by the presence of [♫] against the appropriate section of work.

Where chapter five concentrates on what 'Scottishness' sounds like and the ways in which people come to recognise and understand musical articulations of 'Scottishness', chapter six explores the act of musical performances more generally. Here I study the ways in which musical performances are created, enacted and experienced. I argue that musical performances constitute particular timespaces where the emotional dimension of social relations can be heightened (see also Wood and Smith, forthcoming). By employing the concept of 'the moment' of musical performances I attempt to explain how, in certain contexts, audience members and performers can experience each other in ways that are understood to be intimate. This idea of intimate (musical) encounters is developed further in chapter seven where I bring together the central arguments of chapters five and six to think more closely about how 'Scottishness' is experienced in the timespaces of musical

performance. In particular, I argue that musical performances elicit feelings of wellbeing and that, in the absence of any concrete explanation for why these feelings occur, there is a tendency for Scots to associate these emotional experiences with feelings of 'Scottishness'. 'Scottishness' (or any form of national identity) therefore comes to be understood as a route to wellbeing and thus acquires considerable emotional power. However, I demonstrate that the power of those feelings elicited through musical performances is not inherent in, but actively woven into ideas of nation and nationalism. Chapter seven therefore questions the ways in which Scots associate experiences of wellbeing with feelings of 'Scottishness' and argues that these two phenomena can be decoupled. In separating feelings of wellbeing from those experiences that are understood to be 'Scottish' then the emotional power of nations and nationalism could, potentially, be diminished. What is more, if musical performances were staged in different ways then alternative (and more socially inclusive) hooks on which to hang the feelings of emotional wellbeing that musical performances inspire could be promoted. I build the foundations of this argument in the following chapter, which examines the origins and substance of ideas of 'Scottishness'.

Chapter Two

What is 'Scottishness'?

'Scottishness' refers to an expression of a Scottish national identity. In other words, it connotes being of, or from the nation of Scotland. However, to what does Scotland and 'Scottishness' refer? There are two facets to answering this question. Firstly, it is necessary to address what is understood by the *general* conception of nation. This, in itself, is a complex and difficult task given the often-inconsistent ways in which the term nation is used to label various geopolitical units and the highly contested nature of explanations of nation and nationalism. In order to clarify this terminological and theoretical complexity in the following section I will briefly outline the basic terms used in theories of nation and nationalism before moving on to engage in an exploration and critique of the ways in which ideas of nation, nationalism and national identity have 'traditionally' been conceptualised (see sections 2.2 and 2.3). Here I will pay particular attention to the extent to which the various theoretical approaches attend to what I refer to as the emotional 'black box' of nations, nationalism and national identity. This 'black box' contains the relatively neglected emotional bond that is popularly understood to bestow nations, nationalism and national identity with their political tenacity and power (*cf.* Anderson 1991, Calhoun 1997, Connor 2001 and 1993 and Penrose 2002 and 1995).

Once the general conceptions of nation have been made explicit, I address what is understood by the *specific* idea of Scotland. In section 2.4 I undertake a study of the ways in which Scotland is represented as and understood to be a socially, culturally and politically distinctive nation. Whilst descriptions and explanations of 'Scottishness' such as those outlined in section 2.4 are interesting and intellectually useful I argue in section 2.5 that the ways in which ideas of 'Scottishness' (and national identity more generally) are conceptualised and researched are too narrow. Here I contend that theorists of nation and nationalism place too much emphasis on discussing the relative merits of individual authors' explanations of what nations are and when they emerge. As I will demonstrate shortly, I suggest that the form that these debates take seriously restricts our abilities to understand more fully *how* ideas of 'Scottish' nation and nationalism gain (and maintain) their political power. I go on to argue that both the empirical focus of research and the methodologies that are employed in studies of nation, nationalism and national identity could usefully be broadened.

2.1 Terminological Problems

David McCrone states that "there is simply no agreement about what nationalism is, what nations are [or] how we are to define nationality" (1998: 3). Indeed, understandings of these terms are partially dependent on the ways in which individuals theoretically conceptualise the origins of nation and nationalism. These theories will be explored in greater depth in section 2.2. However, disagreements on terminology are not just the products of differing theoretical viewpoints. Often they

arise from the inconsistent usage of terms such as nation, nation-state and nationalism. As Connor powerfully illustrates in his influential (1978) work, despite the centrality of ideas of nation, nationalism, state and nation-state to political thought “all four terms are shrouded in ambiguity due to their imprecise, inconsistent and often totally erroneous usage” (1978: 91). Connor (1978) argues that often nations, states and nation-states are used as interchangeable terms, when they actually refer to distinctive phenomena.

Nation, according to Connor (1978) is a word whose meaning has shifted over time (see also Jackson and Penrose 1993 and Williams 1983). All agree that the term nation (or its Latin predecessor, *natio*) has been in common usage in the English language since the thirteenth century when its meaning connoted a blood-related group. In this sense the term nation referred to a non-political human collectivity. However, by the seventeenth century nation referred to less specific human categories known also as *the people*; the inhabitants of a country. Here the ethnonational composition of the population was disregarded (Connor 1978).

Connor (1978) goes on to argue that during the late seventeenth century the term nation began to be used as a substitute for the territorial political unit, the state. This confusion of terminology was precipitated by the writings of scholars such as Locke (1632-1704) who, in espousing the doctrine of popular sovereignty, identified *the people* as the source of all political power (Connor 1978: 95). This fusing of nation with state led to the two terms being used almost synonymously.

Conceptions of nation and state were further blurred by ideas of nationalism. As Graham Smith (2000) [1981] highlights nationalism refers to two ideas. The first is the idea of belonging to a nation and the second is the corresponding political ideology, which holds that the territorial borders of a state and a nation should be coincidental (*cf.* Seton-Watson 1977). With this distinction in mind it is popularly thought that there are two forms of nationalism (see for example Brown 1999, Eriksen 1993, Hutchinson 1987 and Spencer and Wollman 2002): one that is expressed along ethnic and/or cultural lines, and another that rests on a civic-territorial conception of the nation. However, as I will illustrate later in the chapter these two ideas are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Penrose (1997) argues that in eighteenth century Western Europe ideas of nationalism began to alter the prevailing political system in two ways. Firstly, nationalism promoted the idea that sovereignty lay with *the people* rather than hereditary rulers. Secondly the ideology of nationalism adopted Romanticist conceptions of nation as the fundamental units of population that the government should serve (*cf.* Penrose 1997: 18). This melding of nation with state led to the development of the idea of nation-states: “a territorial-political unit (a state) whose borders [coincide or nearly coincide] with the territorial distribution of a national group” (Connor 1978: 96). Although, as Connor (1978) points out, nation-states as defined above rarely exist¹, the idea of the nation-state has dominated the global political order. Indeed, Penrose argues that nationalist rhetoric invests the nation-

¹ Connor (1978) argues that in 1971 only 9.1 per cent of states (12 in total) could be described as nation-states. In other words, these were the only places where state and national boundaries coincided.

state with a “natural, and hence inviolable, right to power” (1997: 18) (see also Billig 1996 and Penrose 1995). This is because nation-states are perceived to be the only political system that allows the needs of *the people* or nation to be served by government (the state). Therefore, this modern sense of nationhood requires the state to protect and further the nation’s needs and interests.

The development of ideas of nation, state and nation-states in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries also, according to Connor (1978), led to a change in the way in which the term nationalism is used. Connor (1978) argues that nationalism, as it is used in the modern era, is not so much about loyalty to a nation, as it etymologically should, but rather refers to identification with a state. Indeed, thinking back to Penrose’s (1997) work, nationalism, as an ideology, draws on the idea of nation to legitimise the development of states, or ‘nation-states’. This is a significant point, as it emphasises that nations and states have become inextricably linked to the extent that nations are often required or ‘used’ to legitimate the existence and political actions of a state.

This section has highlighted the contested ways in which the terms nation, nationalism, state and nation-state are often used in erroneous ways. However, as the former part of my discussion suggested, this ‘misguided’ terminological usage is also symptomatic of the differing ways in which ideas of nation and nationalism are conceived of and understood. What, superficially, may appear to be a misunderstanding of the terms often refers to a deeper problem of contested ideas on the origins and understandings of nation. Shifting meanings of the key terms point

not just to temporal developments in the meanings signified by the terms previously identified, but they also mark significant differences of opinion on what nations and nationalism actually are and the ideological functions that they are used to serve.

2.2 'Traditional' Divisions in Theories of Nations and Nationalism

All theories of nation and nationalism presuppose the existence of an emotional bond between members of a nation (*cf.* Anderson 1991, Calhoun 1997 and Connor 1993), and as Connor (2001) and Penrose (2002) argue a bond also often exists between a nation and the homeland or territory that they occupy. However, the extent to which the emotional dimension of ideas of nation, nationalism and national identity is engaged with varies between several explanations of nation and nationalism.

There appear to be two issues that split people's understandings of nation (A.D. Smith, 1998). These are concerns over the antiquity of the concept and disagreements on whether nations are 'natural' or socially constructed phenomena. Debates on these issues have led to the development, over time, of four schools of thought. With regards to antiquity *perennialists* (crudely speaking) argue that nations predate modernity (see Hastings 1997, Levi 1965 and Tipton 1972). This idea is directly challenged by *modernists* who argue that nations are modern (eighteenth century) phenomena that are the products of nationalism (see Anderson 1991 [1983], Gellner 1993 and 1997 and Kedourie 1993 [1960]). Similar differences of opinion can be found in the explanations for the existence of nations. *Primordialists* claim that nations are 'natural' divisions of humanity, whilst

instrumentalists claim that the 'primordial ties' that are necessary for the development of nations are socially constructed.

As I will illustrate later, although these schools of thought have distinctive characteristics, they are not mutually exclusive. 'Traditionally', ideas of perennialism and primordialism have been regarded as being complementary to each other, as have those of modernism and instrumentalism (A.D. Smith 1998). However, studies that allow for some acknowledgement of the ways in which the ideology of nationalism and national identity are *experienced*, challenge this simple pairing of perennialism with primordialism and modernism with instrumentalism (*cf.* Connor 1993, Miller 1995, Penrose 1995, A.D. Smith 1984, 1998 and 1999). This is because a belief in the modern origins of nation does not negate the *emotional experience* of a nation as something that is much older, more enduring and 'natural'. This idea is significant for my work because it introduces the notion that the ways in which national identities are constructed, (re)produced and lived are not being adequately explained by 'traditional' theories of nation and nationalism. Indeed, the works of scholars including Calhoun (1997), Connor (1993) and Penrose (1995 and 2002) highlight the need for a more sustained engagement with and study of the emotional bond that is instrumental in the construction and maintenance of nations. Before getting into this discussion any further though, it is necessary to explain and explore these 'traditional' theoretical divisions in more depth in order to better understand the need for a greater emphasis on the role of emotion in theories of nation and nationalism.

Perennialism

A.D. Smith states that perennialism refers to a belief in the “antiquity of the type of social and political organisation known as the ‘nation’” (1998: 159). I would argue that there is an important distinction between perennialists and primordialists, even though some scholars, such as Özkirimli (2000), argue that perennialism is a less radical form of primordialism. Whereas primordialists interpret the perenniality of nations through ‘natural’ or ‘organic’ explanations, perennialists generally reject these ideas in favour of historical and social definitions. For example, Hastings (1997: 4) argues that the Bible contains the “original model of the nation” and that the development of nations in the Christian world during the medieval period is a direct response to Biblical scriptures. In addition, A.D. Smith’s works *The Ethnic Revival* (1981) and *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (1986) emphasise the role that pre-modern ethnic ties and ethnic consciousness play in the formation of modern nations². In particular, A.D. Smith (1981 and 1986) suggests that modern nations, in part, gain their emotional and political power from drawing on established pre-modern ethnic ties; they exploit the experiences of belonging that are present in pre-modern ethnic formations.

Although perennialists such as Hastings (1997), Levi (1965) and Tipton (1972) disagree with modernist explanations for the origins of nation, they do not deny that processes of eighteenth century modernisation impacted on ideas of nationhood. Rather, perennialists argue that nations existed (in some form) prior to the modern

² It should be noted that A.D. Smith whilst once being understood to be a perennialist has now developed these ideas, along with John Armstrong and John Hutchinson, into the concept of ethno-symbolism (cf. Özkirimli 2000 and A.D. Smith 1999).

era and that their existence influenced the formation of 'modern' nations (*cf.* Armstrong, 1982). Although, as I illustrate below, explanations and descriptions of the timing and 'form' of nations differ between various perennialist standpoints, a belief in pre-modern nations is shared by all.

Kohn (1945) acknowledges that nationalism, as understood at the time of his writing, was not older than the late eighteenth century. However, Kohn argues that these modern ideas of nationalism were developed out of older conceptions of the term.

“The idea [of nationalism] goes back to the ancient Hebrews and Greeks, and was revived in Europe at the time of the Renaissance and the Reformation” (1945: 19).

Kohn explains that the difference between 'pre-modern' and modern nationalism is that the modern form regards 'the people' to be *of* the nation rather than simply *in* it. In other words, the modern political and cultural integration of 'the people' into a nation meant that national consciousness was spread throughout 'the masses' rather than being confined to elite groups as in previous eras (see also Renan 1882). As I will explain in more depth in my discussion of modernism, this is an important and significant 'development' in ideas of nation and nationalism because it signals the development, in the modern period, of a substantial emotional bond between members of a nation.

Hastings (1997) picks up on Kohn's idea of the Renaissance origins of modern nations, although he terms his, and similar approaches as being 'medievalist' in

character. He argues that the term nation and the concept of a world made up of discrete nations is first referred to in the Bible. However, this vision of a world of nations was only realised, according to Hastings (1997), in England sometime between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries³ where “the birth of the English nation was not the birth of a nation, it was the birth of nations, the birth of nationalism” (1997: 5)⁴.

Perennialists have a great deal to say regarding the antiquity of nations. However, it seems that they have less to say regarding the reasons why nations were formed. Hastings' (1997) emphasis on biblical influences in the development of the English nation and A.D. Smith's (1981 and 1986) works on ethnic ties are important exceptions in this regard. Often perennialist accounts focus on semantic explanations for why nations predate the modern era (see Greenfield 1992). It is because of this lack of focus on causal explanations that I think ideas of perennialism are often linked to primordialism. Whereas perennialism seeks to emphasise the antiquity of the origins of nations *per se*, primordialism at first glance seems to achieve this goal more implicitly by stressing the 'natural' or 'organic' qualities of nations.

Primordialism

Özkirimli (2000) states that primordialism is the earliest explanatory paradigm of nation and nationalism. Primordialism refers to the school of thought which holds

³ Although Hastings states that some detectable attributes of nations and nationalism can be found as early as the tenth century in England (1997: 5).

⁴ Greenfield (1992) presents a similar, Anglocentric account of the origins of nation.

that nations and national identities are 'natural'. This belief implies that nations have existed since time immemorial. Primordialist explanations for the origins of nations have received heavy criticism from modernist and instrumentalist scholars - whose works are developed in light of social constructionist critiques of ideas of essentialism - and have often been treated in a derisive and dismissive fashion. For example, Eller and Coughlan argue that primordialism is "unsociological, unanalytical and vacuous... [and] advocate dropping it from the sociological lexicon" (1993, 181). In a similar vein McCrone (1998) states that:

"Primordialists tend to be nationalists themselves who adopt an essentialist view of the/their nation to justify why it is not only desirable but in the long run inevitable that it will achieve political self-determination" (McCrone, 1998: 10).

Eller and Coughlan's (1993) and McCrone's (1998) works suggest that primordialist scholars have such an emotional attachment to ideas of nation and nationalism that they adopt essentialist explanations of these phenomena in spite of 'contrary evidence' (Eller and Coughlan 1993: 184) to further their own political ends (McCrone 1998). Such sentiments run the risk of, at best, hindering 'primordial ideas' from being incorporated into scholarly analysis and, at worst, totally jeopardising primordialist conceptions from being included in academic thought.

For me, there are some convincing reasons for critiquing ideas of essentialism. For example, Fuchs' (2001) work, which draws on American network theory and European systems theory argues that operationally, there is nothing fixed or rigid

about those phenomena that are understood to be 'essential'. Indeed, drawing on the work of Bachelard (1984) [1934], Fuchs argues that:

"Natural kinds exist, or seem to exist, in various areas of culture. They are the "black boxes" of cultures, the central institutions and core foundations on which a network rests, and without which it could not work as it does. But a constant is only a variable whose range of variation has not yet been discovered, or has been fixed or stabilised in some way." (2001: 16).

Fuchs (2001) goes on to argue that essentialisms are the outcomes of particular networks. In order for networks to function they create and employ essentialisms to protect their foundations or bases. In the context of my work the network in question is that which creates and maintains nations. This particular network according to Fuchs (2001) would use essentialisms such as various primordial ties to protect the foundations (and legitimations) of its existence. For me Fuchs' (2001) work raises a number of interesting questions regarding the processes through which essentialisms become 'essential'. I suggest that in the context of national cultures emotional bonds to the concept of nation may, potentially, be significant for the ways in which essentialisms work in the creation and maintenance of ideas of nation. Indeed, I argue that emotional bonds are potentially part of the 'black boxes' of (national) culture that Fuchs (2001) describes. In light of this argument Fuss' (1989) contention that the most useful way to study essentialisms is to explore the motives behind their deployment becomes particularly relevant. Indeed, with this in mind it seems short-sighted to reject ideas of primordialism on grounds that it involves essentialist views of nation and nationalism as Eller and Coughlan (1993) suggest. Instead, a more productive and intellectually useful project would be to study

whether ideas of primordialism are important for people's experience of nation, nationalism and national identity and, if they are, to then explore how these ideas work and expose the roles or needs that they fulfil. This is the approach that I will adopt in this research.

Now that the case for studying primordialism has been made it should be noted that there are three distinctive kinds of primordialism (A.D. Smith 1999). The first is 'popular and nationalist', the second is developed from ideas of sociobiology and the third is a cultural and cognitive variant. According to A.D. Smith 'popular and nationalist' primordialists regard nations as "elements of nature, or of the divine plan, not just of history" (1999: 4). Here the work of Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803) is illustrative.

Herder, writing in the eighteenth century - the era of new doctrines of statehood and nationhood - was concerned about the developing relationships between nation and state. According to Barnard (1965), Herder believed that nations were 'natural' communities of people occupying a specific territory. Herder argued that, in the political climate of the eighteenth century, nations required states for two interconnected ethical reasons. First, to ensure the self-determination of the people or *the volk* and second, to protect the character or *volkgeist* of the nation. As Penrose and May (1991) emphasise Herder described, but could not explain, the presence of a national character, or *national soul* which he believed should be protected by the state.

The second variant of primordialism is based on a sociobiological approach. Pierre van den Berghe (1978) argued that ethnic relations are 'naturally' formed from the extensions of kinship units, which are developed from the nepotistic motive of *inclusive fitness*. Here, van den Berghe proposed that humans 'naturally' seek to create offspring that are as genetically and culturally close to themselves as possible. Therefore, he argued, people either consciously or unconsciously select kin over non-kin when biologically reproducing. Ethnic groups can therefore be regarded as 'natural' by-products of the biological affinities produced by processes of inclusive fitness. In turn, van den Berghe argued that ideas of ethnic affiliation form "the basis of [the] powerful sentiments we call nationalism" (1978: 404). People, in other words, are driven to form nations on the basis of shared biological characteristics. They desire to form national communities with people who are, to put it crudely, 'like themselves'.

Tilley (1997) argues that most contemporary primordialists have removed ideas of ethnicity from the biological sphere and, instead, place them in the realm of culture and cognition. This is the final variant of primordialism that I will discuss. Cultural primordialism is usually associated with the works of Clifford Geertz and Edward Shils. Eller and Coughlan's (1993) influential critique of primordialism⁵ suggests that both Geertz and Shils produce asocial accounts of the ways in which ideas of culture are used to cement ethnic groups. They argue that primordial bonds such as blood, speech and custom (after Geertz, 1993 [1973]) and personal attachments, moral obligations and creative pride (after Shils, 1957) are regarded by Geertz and

Shils as “‘natural’, even ‘spiritual,’ rather than sociological” (Eller and Coughlan, 1993: 187).

However, as Özkirimli (2000) and Tilley (1997) argue Eller and Coughlan’s (1993) work contains evidence of a serious misreading of Geertz and Shils (see also Scott Jr. 1990). Indeed, there is considerable evidence to suggest that Eller and Coughlan (1993) miss the subtleties in Geertz’s and Shils’ arguments. For example, they cite the following passage from Geertz’s work: -

“By primordial attachment is meant one that stems from the ‘givens’ – or, more precisely, as culture is inevitably involved in such matters, the *assumed* ‘givens of social existence: immediate contiguity and kin connection mainly, but beyond them the givenness that stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language, and following particular social practices. These congruities of blood, speech, custom, and so on, *are seen* to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering coerciveness in and of themselves (Eller and Coughlan, 1993: 186; Geertz, 1993 [1973]: 259, emphasis added).

A more open interpretation of this passage would seem to suggest that Geertz is not implying that primordial attachments are ‘natural’ *per se*, but that they are *regarded* as being ‘natural’ and ineffable by people; they are *assumed* ‘givens’ (see Özkirimli 2000). Indeed, immediately following the above quote Geertz goes on to say: -

“One is bound to one’s kinsmen, one’s neighbour, one’s fellow believer, ipso facto; as the result not merely of personal affection, practical necessity, common interest, or incurred obligation, but at least in great part by virtue of some unaccountable absolute import attributed to the tie itself.” (1993 [1973]: 259).

⁵ It is worth noting that Eller and Coughlan (1993) treat primordialism as a homogeneous concept and

The above sentiments have a certain resonance with Connor's (1993) work, which highlights the importance of what he refers to as the psychological ties to nation. What I think that both Geertz's (1993) and Connor's (1993) works emphasise is that it is something more than just primordial ties *per se* that creates and bonds a nation. Geertz describes this phenomenon as an undefined "unaccountable absolute import" that is attributed to primordial ties (1993: 259). I argue that what Geertz (1993) is describing is this 'black box' of nation, nationalism and national identity, which contains the emotional bond that people have to these phenomena. The emotional dimension of nations and nationalism is explored more explicitly in Connor's (1993) work where he begins to open up a debate on the relationship between the emotional power of the psychological bond that people have to nations and the role of culture in (re)producing national communities. This debate will be discussed in more depth in section 2.3. What is of relevance here is that Geertz's argument is not asocial as Eller and Coughlan suggest. Indeed, what Geertz seems to forcefully argue is the need for a greater understanding of the ways in which ties, which are assumed to be primordial, gain an emotional significance in national communities (*cf.* Grosby 1994).

Shils (1957) advances a slightly different argument. Drawing on Tönnies notion of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* Shils (1957) explores the nature of primordial ties through empirical work that he carried out in the 1940s and 1950s with Nazi and Soviet prisoners of war. Shils critiques the idea of *Gesellschaft* (or modern society) as "soulless, egotistical, loveless, faithless, utterly impersonal and lacking any

do not differentiate between the cultural, sociobiological and nationalist approaches to primordialism.

integrative forces other than interest and coercion" (1957: 131). Instead he illustrates that ideas of *Gemeinschaft* (or community bonds) can be seen in the social relationships that occur in nation-states, even if those involved in that national community have no direct emotional involvement or attachment to each other. He argues that...

"It is because a certain ineffable significance is attributed to the tie of blood. Even where the affection was not great, the tangibility of the attachment to the other person, by virtue of our perception of his membership in the kinship is clearly in evidence" (Shils, 1957: 142).

What Shils (1957) and Geertz (1993) argue is that cultural ties gain a primordial significance through the ways in which they are culturally utilised and experienced. This argument is significant for my work because it suggests that emotional attachments to nation do not exist through some 'naturally' inherited primordial attachment. Rather cultural ties gain a primordial (and thereby emotional) significance through the doing of cultural practices. This appears to be a significant departure from the 'popular and nationalist' and sociobiological forms of primordialism and, as we shall see in section 2.3, links with those theories that unsettle the traditional distinctions between primordialist and modernist accounts of nation formation.

Modernism

For modernists the perennial and primordial explanations of nation formation are an anathema. Indeed, as Özkirimli (2000) argues modernism arose in response to the primordialist works of the previous generation of scholars who "tacitly accepted the

basic assumptions of the nationalist ideology” (2000: 85). Since the 1960s writers such as Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, and Eric Hobsbawm have variously argued that nations are modern, eighteenth century phenomena that are socially constructed and intrinsically linked to the formation of modern states (see also Breuilly 1982). In taking this position modernist scholars have attempted to diffuse the emotional power of ideas of nation and nationalism by exposing the socially constructed nature of the primordial ties that modernists understand to form the core of the various primordialist positions. In addition, some modernists have argued that those who claim that nations have pre-modern origins (*cf.* Hutchinson 1994 and Llobera 1994) are erroneously projecting current conceptions of nationhood onto ancient and medieval communities. A.D. Smith states that many modernist scholars regard such practices as ‘retrogressive nationalism’ (1996a: 360 see also 2001 and McCrone 1998 as discussed earlier). As I explained in section 2.1 many modernists recognise that the word nation has pre-modern origins, however, they claim that processes of Enlightenment and the ensuing change in governmental structures led to novel meanings being attached to the word (*cf.* Kedourie, 1993 [1960]).

Although modernists agree in principal on the modernity of nations there are several explanations of *how* nations were formed. Kedourie (1993) [1960] argues that nations are an accident of the Enlightenment. According to the logic of Enlightenment (Kantian) philosophy, which was prevalent in eighteenth century Europe, the universe was “governed by a uniform, unvarying law of nature” (Kedourie, 1993: 2). The political context in which this philosophy was developing was one where sovereignty was held by the monarchy. According to Kedourie

(1993) [1960] a philosophical logic developed whereby the state came to be regarded as a collection of individuals who worked together to secure their own welfare. However, it was ultimately the duty of the ruling elite to ensure that the greatest levels of welfare were achieved. This system of 'Enlightened Absolutism' changed due to the social and political impacts of the French Revolution. Post 1789 Kedourie (1993) [1960] argues that sovereignty shifted from absolutist monarchs to 'the people' who were regarded not as the state – as in the Enlightened Absolutist system – but the *nation*. Therefore the nation gained control of its own welfare and in effect became “a body of people to whom a government is responsible through their legislature; any body of people associating together, and deciding on a scheme for their own government” (Kedourie, 1993: 7).

Kedourie (1993) [1960] asserts that this will for self-government is expressed through the doctrine of nationalism which is 'invented' in Europe during the nineteenth century. Therefore, for Kedourie, nations precede nationalism, where nationalism is a doctrine that holds that “humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain characteristics which can be ascertained, and that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government” (1993: 1).

Gellner (1983 and 1997) critiques this argument put forward by Kedourie. He argues that nations are *not* the unfortunate accident of Enlightenment philosophy as Kedourie suggests (*cf.* Gellner 1983: 125). As Gellner persuasively argues, many alternative ideologies to nationalism could have been spawned from Enlightenment philosophy, however, this was not the case. Instead, Gellner (1983) argues that the

social, cultural, political and economic developments that were occurring during the Enlightenment created the necessary conditions for the development of nationalism. In this context Gellner argues that nationalism is a phenomenon, not a doctrine promoted by nationalists – he implies that nationalism as a political doctrine occurs later (*cf.* 1983, 126).

The crucial part of Gellner's argument is that processes of industrialisation, which spawned from Enlightened thought, demanded the development of certain social, cultural, political and economic conditions which, in turn, aided the creation of nationalism. In particular, Gellner (1983) cites the importance of the development of modern communications. For example, the rise of the mass printed word, Gellner argues, did not spread the message of nationalism - as some may erroneously believe - rather, it created the conditions for the generation of nationalism. Here, Gellner defines nationalism as "the principal of homogeneous cultural units as the foundations of political life, and of the obligatory cultural unity of rules and ruled" (1983: 125).

Therefore, what the print media were saying is, in some ways, of little regard to Gellner's thesis. What *is* important is *how* the printed word was disseminated; the language that was used, the style of expression and the impact that this had on people's perceptions of their role within a larger community (*cf.* 1983: 127). It is the establishment of a sense of belonging, and being part of a community that extends beyond local or regional boundaries that leads to the formation of nations. For Gellner (1983 and 1998) nationalism is the doctrine that creates nations. This

argument is supported by Weber's compelling (1979) thesis on the creation of the French nation and Anderson's (1991) [1983] work on imagined communities.

Anderson (1991) [1983] forcefully argues that the nation is an imagined political community. This is not to say that he thinks that nations do not exist, rather he argues that nations are 'limited' on three accounts. Firstly, they are limited because even in small nations members will never know the majority of their fellow-members, yet notions of communion with one's co-nationals are instrumental to ideas of nationhood. Secondly the nation is imagined as a limited, bounded entity. No nation regards itself as coterminous with humankind. They are regarded as distinctive communities that occupy specific territories (albeit sometimes with changing borders). Finally nations are imagined as communities in which social inequalities are perceived to evaporate in the face of feelings of a "deep and horizontal comradeship" (1991: 7).

Like Gellner (1983), Anderson (1991) [1983] attributes the creation of imagined communities to reactions to the social and political processes that were occurring during the Enlightenment. In particular, he highlights the importance of providing people with new, secular notions of continuity in light of a relative decline of religion. In other words, nations developed as phenomena that could provide people with a purpose in and meaning to life. Instead of working for 'heavenly rewards' in the afterlife, people could devote themselves to sustaining and reproducing the nation – which was constructed as an eternal entity that was fundamental to the existence of humanity. It is partly for this reason, Anderson argues, that nations have such

emotional legitimacy. This idea will be addressed more fully and developed in chapter seven. With a certain similarity to Gellner's (1983) argument Anderson argues that the emergence of vernacular languages and print capitalism are paramount to the construction of the imagined community. This is because they constitute a means of creating a unified field of communication, which encourages the creation of national communities.

As the above discussion illustrates modernist theorists such as Anderson, Gellner and Kedourie forward convincing accounts of the ways in which the emergence of nations are tied up with the wider social, cultural and political processes that were occurring during the Enlightenment. However, these works tend to concentrate on macro-scale phenomena and processes such as the spread of print capitalism and Enlightenment philosophy in their explanations of the rise of nations. Whilst this is a valuable and useful project to undertake what these works generally lack is an exploration of how (and why) the social, cultural and political processes that they recognise work to allow people (at a micro-scale) to form attachments to these newly formed socio-political units. They do not explain *per se* how and why ideas of nation and nationalism gain their emotional and political power. This is where instrumentalist theories of nation and nationalism are intellectually useful.

Instrumentalism

Anderson forcefully illustrates the emotive power of people's attachment to a nation when he states that: -

“Ultimately it is [the] fraternity [which is produced by the imagined community] that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings” (1991 [1983]: 7).

The question arises then as to *how* it is that people can form such emotional attachments to a nation. For primordialists this is a relatively simple question to answer. If we think back to the quote by Geertz on page 21 then connections are made between members of a nation through the “congruities of blood, speech, custom and so on” (1973: 259). For instrumentalists however, these congruities are not inherited, essential givens, they are socially constructed phenomena. Brass (1994) offers an interesting critique of the assumed naturalness of primordial attachments to a nation. He argues that there are a number of aspects of primordialism that are difficult to disagree with. For example, he argues, people often develop attachments in childhood that have a deep emotional significance that “remain with them through life either consciously [...] in the routines of daily life, or embedded in the unconscious realm of the adult personality” (Brass, 1994: 83).

However, Brass persuasively argues that these primordial attachments are not natural *per se*, and nor are they impervious to change. Brass illustrates this latter argument with the example of multilingual societies and changing religious identification. Here, the relative importance of specific languages and religious practices are shown to change over time in certain societies. This does not lead to the abandonment of these phenomena as cultural markers or the legitimising factors of nation-building, rather people adapt to the emotional significance of ‘new’ primordial attachments.

Indeed, the crux of Brass' (1994) argument is that the persistence of cultural markers in an ethnic community is testament to the values and institutions that can be used by élites for political mobilisation. Brass states that when forming nations out of pre-existing ethnic groups, élites use the emotional power of primordial attachments for their own political ends by selecting those aspects of 'traditional culture' that best serve their purposes (*cf.* 1994: 87).

Hobsbawm puts forward a complementary argument in his (1983) book *The Invention of Tradition*. Using a range of British examples Hobsbawm effectively argues that many 'traditions' that appear to have existed since time immemorial are in fact recent inventions. Indeed, in a similar vein to Brass' (1994) work, Hobsbawm argues that élites, where possible, try to gain support for political, social and cultural institutions and policies by linking them to a suitable past. Here Hobsbawm cites the example of the nineteenth century decision to rebuild the British parliament in a Gothic style. In short, Hobsbawm argues that élites draw on specific (useful) notions of antiquity to *invent* tradition, where invented traditions are: -

“a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past” (Hobsbawm, 1983: 1).

As we shall see in section 2.4 Hobsbawm's argument is highly influential. It should be recognised that Hobsbawm is not arguing that traditions are banal because of their invented nature. On the contrary, Hobsbawm argues that they come to be extremely

powerful markers of cultural distinction even though their antiquity, assumed naturalness and stability are deceptive.

In this section I have outlined the basic divisions and debates that lie at the heart of studies of nations and nationalism. However, recently, a number of scholars have begun to question the utility of these polarised theoretical positions in explaining the existence and experience of nations, nationalism and national identity (see Connor 1993, Miller 1995, Penrose 1995, and A.D. Smith 1998 and 1999). These ideas will now be explored in greater depth.

2.3 Transcending Theoretical Divisions

One aspect of theories of nations and nationalism that seems to be central to critiques of the primordialist, modernist and instrumentalist accounts is the idea of emotional attachments or bonds to a nation. A common (and, for me, unsophisticated) critique of ideas of primordialism of any colour is that they are inflammatory concepts propounded by nationalists (McCrone 1998 and Özkirimli 2000 and 2003). According to A.D. Smith (2001), ideas of primordialism are often held responsible for triggering the dark and dangerous consequences of nationalism such as racism, fascism and anti-Semitism. Connor illustrates this point using the examples of Bismarck's calls for Germans to "think with your blood" and Hitler's repeated appeals for ethnic purity (1993: 198).

Modernists and instrumentalists have, in many ways, attempted to diffuse these dangerous, primordial elements of nationalism by demonstrating the modern and socially constructed nature of ideas of nation and nationalism. In detaching notions of nationalism from ideas of essentialism, 'naturalness' and perenniality, modernists have, implicitly, attempted to withdraw some of the grounds on which people – often through violent means – claim a right to nationhood and the need to protect their national identity. However, as Hutchinson (1994), Hoben and Hefner (1991) and Wright (1991) argue, in employing such strategies modernists present a dispassionate and unrealistic 'rational' account of ideas of nationalism and national identity. Connor convincingly counters such 'unemotional', modernist accounts of nation and nationalism by arguing that "people do not die voluntarily for things that are rational" (1993: 206). Indeed, Connor (1993) argues that people's convictions concerning their membership to a distinctive nation belong to the realm of the subconscious and are *nonrational*⁶.

Calhoun (1997) suggests that another problem with modernist accounts is that they do not do justice to the ways in which ideas of nation and nationalism influence people's lives outside of explicitly political concerns. Drawing on Foucault's notion of discursive formations (see Foucault 1968), Calhoun argues that nationalism is "not just a doctrine [...], but a more basic way of talking, thinking and acting" (1997: 11). This sentiment is powerfully illustrated by Bhabha's (1990) exploration of the literary (re)production of nation and Billig's (1995) work on 'banal' practices of nation building (see also Palmer 1998). The recognition that nationalism is a way of

⁶ Connor is *not* arguing that people's connections to a nation and national identity are *irrational*, he

being (*cf.* Calhoun, 1997) acts as a reminder that nationalism is not just an 'abstract' political ideology, but it is also a discursive phenomenon that has come to be firmly embedded within human society and human culture. As Calhoun argues: -

“Nationalism has emotional power partly because it helps to make us who we are, because it inspires artists and composers, because it gives us a link with history (and thus with immortality)” (1997: 3).

If one focuses on the works of Calhoun and Connor it seems that nationalism gains its power as a political ideology because it somehow becomes a personalised ideology. As Tamir (1993) highlights, part of the reason why national attachments gain such emotional significance is because of the ways in which people personally invest in the concepts of nation and nationalism. There is, according to Tamir an “inexplicable allure” to the word ‘my’ – ‘my’ people, ‘my’ land, ‘my’ culture (*cf.* 1993: 5). However, as Guibernau (1996) argues theories of nations and nationalism often fail to properly merge nationalism’s two fundamental characteristics: the political character of nationalism as an ideology that contends that national and state boundaries should coincide and the capacity of nationalism to allow for the experience and expression of identities based on group membership. Such (national) identities would rely on the notion of a shared common history, territory and project for the future (*cf.* 1996: 3).

I share Guibernau’s (1996) concerns regarding the fragmentary nature of theories of nation and nationalism. However, some steps *have* been made in exploring why

argues that they are neither irrational or rational, they are *nonrational*.

conceptions of nationhood hold such emotional significance for people's sense of self and why, in turn, people feel the need to promote and protect those phenomena that underpin their national identity – such as language, religion and traditions. Here the works of Walker Connor and Anthony D. Smith have been particularly important in what might be termed as part of a reconceptualisation of 'traditional' theories of nation and nationalism.

Connor (1993) argues that it is insufficient to trace the origins of nations by simply using objective criteria like language use, territorial domination or religious beliefs. Instead, Connor argues that:

“The essence of a nation is a psychological bond that joins people and differentiates it, in the subconscious conviction of its members, from all nonmembers in a most vital way” (1993: 197).

At first it may seem as if Connor is forwarding a primordialist explanation for the occurrence of nation. However, although Connor's argument uses the notion of what are commonly regarded as primordial ties, Connor moves away from ideas of primordialism *per se* as he argues that it is “not *what is* but *what people perceive as is*” that is important in people's experience of national identity (1993: 197 emphasis in the original). It is the subconscious belief in a nation's separate origin and evolution that is the crucial factor for what Connor terms national psychology. Miller's (1995) work supports this argument where he states that:

“national communities are constituted by belief: nations exist when their members recognize one another as compatriots and believe that they share characteristics of the relevant kind...” (Miller, 1995: 22).

Connor's argument seems to have a certain resonance with Geertz's (1993) [1973] work that I outlined earlier. It is the *assumed* connections to a national community that is the key to understanding the power of concepts of national identity and nationalism. But what are these assumed connections and where do they come from?

Anthony D. Smith (1986, 1991a, 1998, 1999 and 2003) moves away from both the primordialist and modernist explanations that I outlined earlier and, instead, argues that ideas of *ethno-symbolism* are crucial to understanding nations and nationalism. In his seminal work, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Smith argues that there can be “no identity without memory (albeit selective) and no collective [national] purpose without myth” (1986: 2). Whilst Smith does not argue *per se* against modernist explanations of nation he is persuaded by Armstrong's (1982) work to look at pre-modern *ethnies*⁷ for the cultural-symbolic foundations of nations. Smith argues that whilst processes of modernisation were important to the formation of nations they did not entirely obliterate pre-modern cultures and identities. According to Smith there was spatial differentiation in the effect of modernisation on pre-modern communities. In other words, the extent and speed at which nations emerged differed spatially. This argument is supported by the Hroch's (1985 and 1996) works on the heterogeneous nature of processes of nation building in Europe.

⁷ *Ethnie* is the French expression used by Smith to denote an ethnic community.

For Smith the fate of pre-modern cultures and identities depended on the ability of their constituencies – in particular the myths, memories, symbols and values – to resist, transform and adapt to processes of modernisation. Therefore, Smith argues that an understanding of a nation's *ethnie* is crucial to understanding the (emotional) power of the idea of nation. This is because nations require the constituencies mentioned above to forge national consciousness and the feelings of loyalty, pride and belonging that are necessary for sustaining the social, cultural and political power of nations. Hobsbawm (1983) would argue that such myths, memories and symbols are invented. However, Smith states that élites do not 'invent' traditions *per se*, rather they delve into a 'golden age' or 'useable past' (albeit a malleable notion of the past) to draw on those values that are most useful for promoting present and future goals (see A.D. Smith 1996b and 1997).

It seems to me that ideas of myth, memories and symbols that Hobsbawm (1983) and A.D. Smith (1986 and 1997) highlight are highly relevant to understanding ideas of nation and nationalism. After all it is through these phenomena that ideas of nation gain their legitimacy and potency. Penrose (1995) makes a similar argument where she argues that there are a number of aspects of culture that have come to be "constructed, promoted and perceived" as *essential* to human beings and the organisation of human society (*cf.* 1995: 400). These are language, religion, traditions, history, collective memory and symbols and/or shared meanings. Penrose argues that processes of group formation *are* essential to human beings however, the ways in which these processes are manifested (and the social and cultural categories

that they draw on) *are not*. This latter point is generally obfuscated by the political rhetoric that surrounds processes of nation building.

As Penrose (1995) argues it is the assumed essentiality of the cultural categories outlined above that provide the bases for the formation of nationalist movements. Indeed, I would suggest that it is this assumed essentiality that gives nation, nationalism and national identities their emotional and emotive potency. Cultural categories such as language, collective memory and history gain emotional significance not just because they are part of a political ideology, but because they are the intimate means through which lives are lived and selves are positioned. Cultural categories become the foundation for the articulation of individual experiences of nation and national identity, but they also say something more fundamental about who 'we' are (*cf.* Wiebe 2002). From this brief discussion it seems to me that this link between culture as the means through which lives are lived and 'primordial' attachments are made and culture as the means through which political ideologies are expressed requires further exploration. What is more, I think that attention needs to be paid to the emotional geographies that both constitute and link these two phenomena. Indeed, it seems to me that it is precisely through apprehending and studying those emotional geographies that constitute nations and nationalism that a deeper understanding of the emotional and political power of nationhood can be gained. This idea will be developed throughout the rest of this thesis.

So far in this chapter I have outlined the 'traditional' framework through which ideas of nationhood are considered and I have highlighted (and advocated) the development of a reconceptualisation of theories of nation and nationalism that pays closer attention to role that emotions play in the creation and persistence of ideas of nation and nationalism. Now that I have established some of the general ideas that are crucial to the existence and understandings of the general idea of nation, I will consider what is understood by the *specific* notion of Scotland.

2.4 What and When is Scotland? Representations of 'Scottishness'

Ferguson (1998) argues that there is a compulsion in human nature to trace matters back to their origins. The history of Scotland is no different in this regard where considerable energy has been spent on attempts to explain the origins of the Scottish nation. It may come as little surprise that, following the framework that I established earlier in the chapter, debates on the origins of Scotland tend to fall crudely into a variety of perennialist and modernist explanations. Broun (1994 and 1998) argues that Scotland has pre-modern origins. According to Broun the origins of Scotland can be traced back to when the Scots first settled in locations in what is now the modern territory of Scotland.

“...Scots (originating from Ireland)... settled in Argyll around the year 500 AD as a branch of the Ulster Kingdom of Dál Riata. Around the year 843 Cinaed mac Alpin ('Kenneth I'), king of Dál Riata, became king of the Picts and so formed the kingdom of Scotland by uniting the Picts and the Scots.” (1998: 4).

Broun (1994) highlights that Cinaed is usually regarded as the first of a line of kings reigning over the former territories of the Picts and the Scots. This 'Scoto-Pictish' kingdom known to contemporaries by its Latin name *Scotia* or its Gaelic counterpart *Alba* is defined by Broun (1998) as the land-mass north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde. This 'core' territory of Scotland was expanded throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries taking in the more southerly kingdoms around Edinburgh and 'Strathclyde' (*cf.* Broun, 1998). Chapman (1978) argues that it is during this time that Scottish nationhood is first fully realised. This claim is based on the widespread influence of Gaelic as a language that supposedly united the peoples of Scotland⁸. However, Broun (1998) dismisses Chapman's (1978) claim and argues that it wasn't until the mid-thirteenth century that Scotland was defined territorially as a kingdom where the Scots were recognised as being its inhabitants. It is during this era, Broun argues, that Scotland becomes "something close to its modern meaning" (1998: 8).

Writing in the same volume, Watson builds on Broun's (1998) work by arguing that the Scottish monarchy was crucial to transforming "the looser notions of 'Scottishness' described by Dr. Broun into the form of 'national' identity evident in the thirteenth century" (1998: 20). Watson (1998) argues that although medieval Scotland was divided into regions that had highly individual identities most of them were integrated into the kingdom. This integration was achieved through the creation of an aristocratic identity that was centred on the court by regional magnates. The fledgling 'national' identity created during the thirteenth century was

⁸ Whether Gaelic did unify the peoples of 'Scotland' is debatable because, as Thomson (1981) highlights there were (and still are) many different dialects of Gaelic. However, he does concede that none is unintelligible to other Gaelic speakers.

later transformed into something “far more concrete and enduring” by the Wars of Independence with England. Threats to the Scottish kingdom by the English helped realise closer links between regional overlords and encouraged the creation of a group identity based on shared experiences and interests (*cf.* Watson, 1998: 20).

For Cowan (1998) and Edington (1998) this new ‘national’ identity which, according to Cowan was forged between 1290 and 1320, reached its apogee with the Declaration of Arbroath in 1320. Grant argues that the Declaration, a letter to Pope John XXII that sought papal support for the Scots against England’s Edward II, is “the most striking theoretical expression of national consciousness in medieval Scotland” (1994: 68). The letter stated the case of independence for Scotland in the name of the “individually named nobels, barons, freeholders and the ‘community of the realm’” (Cowan 1998, *cf.* Grant 1994). Notice here that independence is not made in the name of a Scottish nation – although claims are made for Scots being a chosen people who have a divine right to settle in Scotland – but in the names of the Scottish nobility and their subjects.

For me, this focus, not on ‘the people’ of Scotland, but the ruling elite of a feudalistic kingdom and its peasantry brings into question the idea of medieval Scotland, or indeed any medieval society being a *nation*. My concerns are shared by a number of modernist scholars who critique the notion of Scotland as a pre-modern nation (*cf.* Bruce 1993, Davidson 2000 and McCrone 1992). Bruce, drawing on the works of modernists such as Anderson (1991) and Gellner (1983), argues that before the collapse of dynastic monarchies in the eighteenth century, the Enlightenment and the

French Revolution there was not “the space for the rise of a nation” (1993: 3). Bruce does not deny the relevance of Scotland’s history prior to this date rather, he argues that the Scotland that is referred to in this context does not refer to the Scotland that existed after the eighteenth century.

The Medieval Scotland described by Broun (1994 and 1998), Grant (1994) and Watson (1998) appears to be a very different kind of socio-political phenomenon to those communities described by scholars such as Anderson (1991) [1983], Connor (1993) and Miller (1995) where notions of a shared psychological bond and a belief in compatriotism appear to be crucial to the existence of nations (see section 2.3). Finlay (1998) supports this idea when he argues that ‘modern’ ideas of national identity could not have existed in Scotland prior to the end of the ‘long’ eighteenth century (c.1700-1830). This is because Scotland did not have the communications infrastructure to allow for the dissemination of ideas of national identity (*cf.* Anderson (1991) and Gellner 1983). What is more, Finlay argues, it is unlikely that abstract notions of ‘Scottishness’ would have rivalled the more regionally and locally based identities in the ‘Scottish’ people (1998: 144). Finlay’s argument seems to have a certain resonance with the work of Seton-Watson, who argues that “a nation exists when a significant number of people consider themselves to form a nation... When a significant group holds this belief it possesses ‘national consciousness’” (1977: 5) (see also Kedourie 1993). For Finlay (1998) this ‘significant group’ could not have existed before c.1830.

It seems then that there are a number of difficulties with describing pre-eighteenth century Scotland as a nation. However, I would argue that there is an implicit nationalist agenda in some historical works that seek to present Scotland as an ancient and well-established nation (*cf.* Broun 1994 and 1998, Grant 1994 and Watson 1998). Although nationalists often 'use' history to legitimise their claims to nationhood (*cf.* Hutchinson, 1994 and A.D. Smith, 2001), I would argue that there are special reasons for why Scottish nationalists hail back to the pre-eighteenth century. This is because Scotland is a curious case in the history of nations and nationalism because when other areas in Western Europe were developing into nation-states, Scotland, rather than securing its position as an independent nation-state, entered a political union with England (*cf.* Nairn 1981 and Smout 1994). Therefore it would seem that given this political reality the emotional construction of Scotland takes on an added significance.

There are a number of differing views on the effect of the Treaty of Union of 1707 on Scotland. Nationalists would argue that the treaty led to the systematic exploitation of Scotland by the English. However, a number of commentators such as Colley (1996), Davidson (2000) and Harvie (1977) have illustrated that the impact of the Treaty on Scotland and ideas of 'Scottishness' is far more complex than this. Harvie (1977) illustrates how the popular 'nationalist mythology' surrounding the Treaty paints too simple a picture of the processes that led to the linking of two countries in the joint exploitation of industry and empire. Whilst I do not want to discuss the relative advantages and disadvantages of the events of 1707 here, it is

important to note that the Treaty of Union had a significant impact on ideas of 'Scottishness'.

Davidson, a Scottish Marxist, in his highly engaging and controversial (2000) work argues that the Scottish nation was only formed in the late eighteenth century when the British nation was forged. Indeed, he argues that the two events were structurally intertwined through two linked processes. First the "destruction of the Highland society and the incorporation of its imagery into the Scottish (and British) self-image" and second through consolidating the 'new' Highland image through the conquest and colonisation of North America and India (Davidson, 2000: 5). These processes, Davidson argues led to the formation of Scottish national *consciousness*, but not to Scottish *nationalism*. As I explained earlier in this chapter the idea of national consciousness is useful because it aids the description and understanding of the process of nation formation, whereby national identities and the ideas of belonging to a nation are lived and expressed by the population or 'the people' of a specific territory. Therefore it marks a movement away from the 'national consciousness' that scholars like Grant (1994) describe in medieval Scotland where sentiments of belonging to this political entity are confined to the ruling elite.

In addition, the term national consciousness also allows for people to express their national identity without necessarily expressing the desire for the establishment of a nation-state⁹. This seems like a particularly useful idea to incorporate into ideas of

⁹ Nairn has expressed similar idea through his (1995) conception of upper and lower case nationalism (see also Nairn 1997). However, as Davidson (2000) suggests it seems erroneous to put

Scottishness where, some scholars would convincingly argue, many Scots enjoyed the benefits of a dual Scottish and British identity and the rewards that colonial expansion through the British empire brought with it (Colley 1996 [1991], McCrone 1992, Morton 1998, Paterson 1994 and Smout 1994). What occurs after the Treaty of Union is a strengthening of national consciousness through the consolidation of 'civil society'. This is brought about through Scotland's autonomous control of the Kirk (church) along with distinctive and independent legal and education systems. However, the civil society developed during the eighteenth century is, to a large extent, divorced from political nationalism until the twentieth century. This is when the advantages of the Union became sufficiently eroded to allow for more widespread calls for greater autonomy (*cf.* Bruce 1993, Harvie 1977, McCrone 1992, Morton 1998, Nairn 1977 and Smout 1994).

It would be wrong to suggest that the Treaty of Union went completely unopposed in Scotland. The Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745-6 demonstrate otherwise, but as Smout (1994) asks why did Scotland not leap to arms again after the 1745-6 rebellion? It seems that Scotland's relationship with England and its role in forming Britain suppressed the desire for further rebellion and political action to establish an autonomous nation-state. However, what it most definitely did not quell was ideas of 'Scottishness' or Scottish consciousness (*cf.* Finlay 1998).

Chapman (1978) illustrates how, since the Scottish Lowlands were industrialising in the eighteenth century, ideas of 'Scottishness' have been increasingly linked to the

the label of nationalism onto the expression of a wish for a nation where there is no corresponding

Highlands or *Gaidhealtachd*. For Chapman (1978), the Highlands have become a location for cultural distinctiveness in the face of an industrialising and urbanising Scotland (see also Withers 1988). Ash (1980) states that the romanticisation of Scotland through the adoption of a Highland vision is disappointing, although not entirely surprising.

“...the time that Scotland was ceasing to be distinctively and confidently herself [sic] was also the period when there grew an increasing emphasis on the emotional trappings of the Scottish past... and its symbols are bonnie Scotland of the bens and glens and misty shieling, the Jacobites, Mary Queen of Scots, tartan mania and the raising of historical statuary. What occurred was an historical failure of nerve. Such a collapse into emotional or excessive manifestations of a vanished past is a common enough human response” (1980: 10).

Ash's sentiments are echoed in the work of Devine (1999). Devine argues that Scottish society was in a contradictory position in its union relationship with England.

“On the one hand, the nation's [Scotland's] rise to prosperity depended on the new connection with her [sic] southern neighbour but, on the other, the political and material superiority of England threatened the full-scale assimilation of Scotland” (Devine 1999: 244).

According to Devine (1999) the Scots faced a problem. They felt the need to protect themselves politically and culturally from their overbearing neighbour, however any aggressive assertion of national identity would have threatened the union upon which they were now dependent. Devine (1999) argues that the wave of romantic nationalism that was spreading throughout Europe in the later eighteenth and

desire for a nation-state.

nineteenth centuries, and which Scotland was undoubtedly influenced by, offered a solution to their problem. Highlandism could fulfil the emotional need for a distinctive Scottish identity without threatening the political union. This is ironic when one considers that before the Union the north of Scotland was regarded as both inhospitable and threatening. As Trevor-Roper argues symbols of Highlandism were regarded by the majority of Scots as “a sign of barbarism: the badge of roughish, idle, predatory, [and] blackmailing Highlanders” (1983: 15). The Highlands were not composed of a group of distinctive people, but were a Celtic society: an overflow of Ireland (*cf.* Trevor Roper 1983) that were very different to the Lowland population (see also Connor 1991).

The assertion of ideas of Highlandism onto the Scottish imagination was undoubtedly aided by a number of key literary figures of the time. These include Robert Burns (1759-1796), James Macpherson (1736-1796), and Walter Scott (1771-1832) (*cf.* Pittock 1991). These writers, and others like them, collectively help form an image of a Scotland with a long and proud past through both literature and song. Although these writers' works are quite distinctive in their literary styles, Burns for example writes mainly in the Scots dialect, their works all draw on romantic and heroic notions of Jacobitism for their inspiration. As McCrone (1992) states though, the historical accuracy of these works has often been called into question. Particular controversy surrounds MacPherson's (1761) 'Celtic epic' *Fingal*, a series of poems that were supposedly based on the third century works of the Gaelic poet Ossian.

The use of Gaelic as a 'Scottish' language is an interesting development in romantic literature and song. This is because from the late fourteenth century Gaelic retreated to the Highlands as the Lowlands adopted the language of "civility and status": English (Withers 1988). Withers (1988) states that the English language in use in the Lowlands became known as Scots and by 1400 there was a distinctive split between a Gaelic speaking ('Celtic') Highland and a Scots speaking lowland. The revival of Gaelic as a 'Scottish' language is ironic given the fact that during the eighteenth and nineteenth century Gaelic became increasingly marginalised. The economic developments of the eighteenth century which led to increased contact between the Lowlands and the Highlands deepened the perception that Gaelic was not the language of modernity, progress or civility (*cf.* Cameron 1998). Indeed, during this era the Highlander's (Gael's) perception of their own language was destroyed and Gaelic in the Highlands retreated into the domestic and religious spheres as Highlanders turned in increasing numbers to English as their *lingua franca* (Cameron 1998).

Although Gaelic as an 'everyday' language was on the decline, it gained romantic kudos through the works of poets and writers such as Macpherson. It is now popularly thought that Ossian is a fabrication by Macpherson and that indeed, many expressions of 'Scottishness' including literary history, customs and dress that were 'revived' during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are in fact 'invented traditions' (*cf.* Devine 1999, Hobsbawm 1983 and Trevor-Roper 1983). Trevor-Roper (1983), for example, illustrates to good effect how tartan – cloth woven in a

geometrical pattern of colours – although present in Scotland in the sixteenth century - is thought to have originated from Flanders¹⁰.

In addition, Trevor-Roper (1983) also shows how the kilt is a garment designed by Thomas Rawlinson, an English Quaker industrialist sometime between 1727 and 1734. It was an adaptation of the Highland dress of the time for the lower classes, the belted plaid, which was simply a piece of cloth – which also doubled as a sleeping bag – that was wrapped around the body. Rawlinson, who owned a smelting furnace outside Inverness designed the kilt for his Highland workforce, who at work seemed to be inconvenienced by their usual attire. In order to make the garment less cumbersome and more secure Rawlinson produced a distinctive garment where the pleats were already sewn.

Tartan and kilts gained popularity as symbolic representations of 'Scottishness' through their adoption by the Highland regiments of the British army and their promotion by Walter Scott during George IV's visit to Edinburgh in 1822, which was dubbed as a 'gathering of the Gael'. Devine (1999) argues that it was during this royal visit that the kilt gained popular acceptance as the national dress of Scotland. Ideas of Highlandism have seemingly pervaded present conceptions of 'Scottishness' as Devine (1999) writes:

¹⁰ A.D. Smith (1991b) dislikes the term 'invented tradition' as, he argues, they are often fabricated from distinctive aspects of a nation's history. Instead, Smith prefers to use the term 'reconstruction' to describe the creation of new traditions.

“To the rest of the world in the late twentieth century Scotland seems a Highland country. The ‘land of the mountain and flood’ adorns countless tourist posters and those familiar and distinctive symbols of Scottish identity, the kilt, the tartan, the bagpipes, are all of Highland origin... it hardly reflects the modern pattern of life in Scotland as one of the most urbanised societies in the world... An urban society has adopted a rural face” (Devine 1999: 231).

The rural face that was adopted through Romantic notions of Highlandism was promoted through a second cultural transformation, that of Kailyardism (*cf.* McCrone 1992 and Nairn 1981). Nairn (1981) argues that from around the 1820s there was a significant emigration of ‘high-culture’ talent that left behind a Kailyard or ‘backyard’ culture. The works of J.M. Barrie in the 1880s are cited by Nairn as the foundations of the Kailyard tradition where Kailyardism became...

“...the definition of Scotland as consisting wholly of small towns full of small-town ‘characters’ given to bucolic intrigue and wise sayings... Offspring who leave for the big city frequently come to grief, and are glad to get home again (peching and hoasting¹¹ to hide their feelings)” (1981: 158).

The persistence of Kailyardism in both the literary and music-hall traditions is in part sustained by cultural emigration (*cf.* McCrone 1992 and Nairn 1981). Indeed, the majority of those involved in the cultural production of Kailyardism (including Barrie) were émigrés living in other areas of Britain and beyond who dreamed of a romantic, rural, small-town image of Scotland.

¹¹ Peching and Hoasting refer to panting and coughing in the Scots language (*cf.* Kynoch 1996).

2.5 Expressing and Experiencing 'Scottishness'

What is witnessed during the era of Union is an adoption of an alluring myth of 'Scottishness'. The Highlands and a sentimentality for rural Scotland¹² provides an emotional fulfilment for the need for continuity and stability in an era of significant social, economic, political and cultural change (*cf.* Anderson 1991). Whilst some scholars like Nairn (1981) may scorn the 'vulgar kitschness' that surrounds notions of tartanry and Kailyardism or seek to expose the 'fakelore' that surrounds ideas of 'Scottishness' (*cf.* Trevor-Roper, 1983), there can be little doubt that these concepts are significant in symbolic representations of Scotland and 'Scottishness'¹³. What is more, they have endured as expressions of 'Scottishness' despite some doubts over their 'authenticity'.

As Samuel and Thompson (1990) illustrate, myths should not be treated as trivial follies. Rather myths are a fundamental component of human thought as they provide people with a useable past that helps them make sense of the spaces and places that they inhabit and the social relations of which they are part (Samuel and Thompson 1990 and A.D. Smith 1986, 1997 and 1999). The 'myths' of tartanry and Highlandism seem to have provided Scots with the all-important ingredients for forming a nation and creating a collective identity (*cf.* Penrose 1995 and A.D. Smith 1986). These are ideas of a common history, common languages, collective memory and shared symbols and meanings (Penrose 1995). It is through the personal attachments that people make to these cultural bases of the nation that ideas of

¹² Notice here how rural Scotland is limited to Highland Scotland and ignores other rural areas such as the Borders, which tends to be written out of theories of 'Scottishness' (*cf.* S.J. Smith 1993).

¹³ The goods on display in the tourist shops on Edinburgh's Royal Mile are one example of this.

nation, national identity and nationalism gain their emotional power (*cf.* Connor 1993 and Penrose 1995).

However, to what extent do these established representations of Highlandism and Kailyardism impact upon the expression and experience of 'Scottishness' in the contemporary era? Macdonald suggests that identity is: -

"... less an historical or social artefact than a process which is in a perpetual state of becoming. It forms and reforms at the point of intersection between 'space' and 'time' and in turn influences the transmission and reception of new social, political and cultural forms through appeals to precedent and tradition" (1998: 179).

Macdonald (1998) highlights that 'Scottishness' is not some kind of static entity, rather it is constantly being (re)produced. But what is significant here is that MacDonald (1998) argues that although 'Scottishness' is perpetually 'becoming' it is always somehow rooted in notions of 'precedent and tradition' and that, indeed, ideas of 'Scottishness' influence the extent to which new social, political and cultural forms are supported and adopted. Hassan (1999) disagrees with this argument, where he argues that: -

"Scots identity is not rooted in pre or post-1707 concepts, but in what modern Scots feel about Scotland today, defined by our economic, social and cultural values" (1999: 16).

These two quotes interest me for two reasons. Firstly, they raise questions about the role that the past plays in ideas of 'Scottishness'. For Macdonald (1998) the past is always present in (and indeed steers) the formation of 'Scottishness', however

Hassan (1999) argues that 'Scottishness' is based on contemporary issues and concerns and is not rooted in the past. Secondly, both of these quotes highlight (in albeit different ways) the roles that 'feeling' and emotion play in the construction and experience of 'Scottishness'. Both argue that feelings of 'Scottishness' have political effects; they influence (and in turn are influenced by) the construction and development of new social, cultural and political realities. It seems to me then that studying feelings and experiences of 'Scottishness' is an important undertaking. Not only does an exploration of the (emotional) experience of 'Scottishness' potentially tell us something about the nature of 'Scottishness' and its links with the past but it might also inform us about the capacity of ideas of 'Scottishness' to be socially, culturally and politically malleable. This is politically and ethically significant for a nation whose population is increasingly socially and culturally diverse.

However, the problem is that, as this chapter illustrates, current studies of nation and nationalism tell us very little about what it *feels like* to have and experience a national identity such as 'Scottishness'. It tells us virtually nothing about what it means, personally and politically, to feel 'Scottish' and the ways in which these feelings shape and inform the development of 'Scottish' identities¹⁴. As in the wider literature on nation and nationalism the emotional content of nation is alluded to and/or taken for granted rather than being specified and explored in any detail. Indeed, too much emphasis is placed on looking for tangible evidence that 'proves' one way or another how old the concept of nation is and what nations are (at both abstract and local scales) (*cf.* Connor 1993). Whilst such projects might, at one level,

be intellectually challenging and interesting I cannot help thinking that these questions might not be the most politically and ethically important things that scholars of nation and nationalism focus on. Surely it is more politically useful and significant to understand *why* ideas of nation and nationalism are so emotionally and politically powerful and *how* ideas of nationhood impact on and interplay with ideas of self, other and ways of being. Is it not precisely these kinds of issues that influence interethnic tensions, international relations and maintain the legitimacy of the idea of nation-states?

I am not arguing here that debates on the age and nature of nation are unimportant, but rather that they are only *one way* of thinking about and understanding nations and nationalism. What I do argue though, is that current approaches to studying nations and nationalism have not yet fully accounted for our understandings of these phenomena. As Connor (1993) and others such as Anderson (1991) and Reicher and Hopkins (2001) argue there is more to being part of a nation than a simple recognition of symbolic representations. Being part of a nation involves the experience of a psychological bond between members of a nation and the territory in which they live (Connor 1993 and 2001, Penrose 2002). At the moment though it seems that little is being done to try and incorporate these kinds of ideas into current research interests and methodologies. In some ways this is understandable. Trying to tap into this psychological bond is difficult methodologically, and conceptually there is not a language through which to easily describe this phenomenon and the emotional geographies that partially constitute it. However, I do think that,

¹⁴ This is not just the case with 'Scottishness' in general studies of nation and nationalism tend to

difficulties aside, more needs to be done to widen the conceptual, philosophical and methodological interests of scholars of nation and nationalism if we are to fully understand the emotional nature and power of nations and nationalism.

Indeed, it is out of a desire to gain a greater understanding of how concepts of nation gain their emotional power and political tenacity that I attempt to access and explore the 'black box' of nation, nationalism and national identity in this thesis. Connor (1993) suggests that one way to study the emotional experience of nation and nationalism is through an exploration of those catalysts that trigger feelings of national belonging. Following Connor's (1993) advice to study the triggers of emotional experiences of nation, nationalism and national identity this research employs a methodology that is based on the practice and experience of musical performances. Drawing on personal experiences of performing and listening to music I thought that musical performances would be a useful route into the emotional geographies of nation and nationalism for three main reasons. First, as anyone who has attended a musical performance will know, musical performances constitute timespaces where the emotional dimension of social relations can be particularly heightened (*cf.* Juslin and Sloboda 2001a). Therefore these events potentially provide a useful point of access into studying the role of emotion in a whole range of social processes such as (national) identity formation (see Wood 2002).

Second, music is a medium of communication that has often been 'used' in the promotion of nationalistic causes (*cf.* Connor 1993 and Kong 1995). This point is

write people, their lives, loves, beliefs and passions out of their work.

illustrated perhaps most forcefully by the 'use' of 'national music' in stirring support for the Nazi regime in Germany (Kater 1999, Negus 1996 and Wicke 1985). So there is evidence to suggest that performances of music can, indeed, be events that evoke particularly emotional experiences of national identity. Finally, musical performances are useful in the study of ideas of nation and nationalism because music is a non-representative medium of communication (Langer 1951 [1942]). Therefore, musical performances are not events that simply reproduce phenomena such as 'Scottishness' rather they are occasions where these phenomena are (re)produced and negotiated. Therefore they offer the opportunity to study national identities in the making. This final point appears to be particularly significant given the contested views on the role of past articulations of 'Scottishness' in contemporary experiences of 'Scottish' national identities (*cf.* Macdonald 1998 and Hassan 1999). These ideas will be explored in greater depth in the following chapter which explains in more depth the ways in which musical performances act as an route into the emotional geographies through which ideas of 'Scottishness' are (re)produced, experienced and expressed.

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Chapter Three

Musical Performances and the 'Doings' of (National) Identity

"...by its nature, music invites physical pleasure and cerebral reflection, old memories and new discoveries, and a host of other conflicting but simultaneous effects." (Toop 1994: 6).

"We are not advocating shutting off the mind and playing air guitar as a substitute for rigorous scholarship (though if more musicologists had an irresistible urge to play air guitar instead of lunging immediately for their distancing techniques, we all – readers and musicologists alike - might be the better for it)" (McClary and Walser 1988: 287)

This chapter positions musical performances as an interface between emotional geographies and the (re)production, experience and expression of national identity. I begin by outlining the main ways in which music has been used in past studies of nation and nationalism. In this section I emphasise the ways in which the relevant literatures tend to reduce musical performances to their textual representations. However, as the above quote from Toop (1994) suggests musical performances are far more than the sonic reproduction of musical scores. Indeed, there are emotional geographies of musical performances; a creation of spaces in which social relations are expressed and experienced in emotionally heightened ways that may account for the power of nation, nationalism and national identity. I suggest that in order to fully appreciate the nature of musical performances greater attention needs to be paid to performance practices and audience's experiences of music in the moment of performance.

In the context of my research, appreciating and studying musical performances (rather than textual representations of music) is particularly important as it is through the *performance* of music that (national) identities are (re)created, expressed, negotiated and experienced. Indeed, focusing on the works of Judith Butler and Erving Goffman (amongst others) in section 3.2 I outline the ways in which ideas of performing identities influence my conceptual and methodological frameworks. Here I work with the well-established idea that identity is a process and not an entity (Bondi 1993, Butler 1999, Calhoun 1997 and Hall 1996). This being the case, I attempt to develop a research methodology that works with and complements the dynamic nature of identity formation. Indeed, it is for this reason that I adopt (and adapt) non-representative styles of research into my research methodology. In section 3.3 I outline what the concept of non-representational thinking is before moving on to discuss the benefits of using performance as the basis of a research methodology. Finally, in section 3.5, I outline more explicitly the form of my own research methodology, which is grounded in the principals of non-representative styles of thinking.

3.1 Music, Emotion and the Study of National Identities

Since the writings of Plato (*cf.* 1992) and Aristotle (*cf.* 1980) there has been an academic and philosophical interest in music. Disciplines as diverse as biology (Peretz and Hébert 2000), geography (S.J. Smith 1997 and Leyshon *et al* 1998), philosophy (Adorno 1941, Alperson 1987 and Cumming 2000), psychology

(Schulkind, *et al* 1999, Sloboda 1999 and North and Hargreaves 1997), social anthropology (Cohen 1994) and sociology (DeNora 2000 and Street 1993), as well as, of course, musicology and ethnomusicology have sought explanations for the purposes and outcomes of people's encounters with music.

Once I had chosen to study the emotional experience of 'Scottishness' through musical performances it became clear that there are two established academic literatures that would greatly influence my work. The first is a cluster of interdisciplinary works that explore the various relations between music, emotion and ideas of nation, nationalism and national identity. The second are the varied works that discuss the ways in which ideas of performance and performativity can enrich an understanding of processes of identity formation. The importance of these literatures in informing the conceptual and methodological bases of my work will be explained and elaborated upon in this section, and section 3.2.

Where section 3.2 outlines the role of ideas of performance and performativity in studies of national identity this section is concerned with the relationship between musical performances, emotion and ideas of nation, nationalism and national identity. More specifically, it outlines the ways in which the relationships between musical performances and ideas of nation and national identity have 'traditionally' been conceptualised in academic works. Whilst the literature that I will describe is important in informing my research methodology, I ultimately argue that the ways in which 'music' has 'traditionally' been conceptualised and studied plays down the performative and emotional character of music. This, in turn, has meant that the role

that musical performances play in the (re)production and experience of nation and national identity has not been explored to its full potential. It is partially out of an attempt to address the weaknesses of these earlier works that my research methodology takes its present form. However, before getting into this argument it is necessary to outline the ways in which musical expressions of nation and national identity have 'traditionally' been studied.

A number of commentators from several disciplinary backgrounds, including geography, have explored the relationships between music, national identity, nationalism and the nation-state. Broadly speaking there are three areas that scholars have 'traditionally' concentrated on when studying these phenomena. Firstly there has been a focus on the ways in which particular ('essential') ideas of nation can be communicated through music. Much of this work explores the possibility for music to represent 'national characteristics' and tends to examine the question of whether nations have 'natural' physical and cultural characteristics that can be *reflected* through musical performances.

A phenomenon that has been popularly explored in this way has been the national 'folk' music revival that occurred across large areas of Europe during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Francmanis 2002 and Vaughan Williams 1934). For example, Revill studies the ways in which composers of English pastoral music¹⁵ draw on the onomatopoeic qualities of sound (2000a) and particular forms of instrumentation, musical styles and lyrics (2000b) to provide an allegory of England

as a rural/pastoral idyll. These pastoral allegories, Revill (2000a and 2000b) argues, play a significant role in shaping the moral geographies of a peculiarly English landscape, nation and citizen (see also Carney and Nash 1996, Leyshon *et al* 1995 and S.J. Smith 1997).

Scotland has also received similar attention with the recognition of what Collinson (1966) and Purser (1992) call a 'Scottish idiom' in music. Like Revill (2000a and 2000b), Purser (1992) argues that the 'Scottish' idiom is intrinsically linked to and reflective of particular ideas of a unique Scottish land and seascape and a 'Scottish' way of life. Purser (1992) illustrates how the 'Scottish' idiom is persistent throughout Scotland's 'tradition' of music making both in rural and urban settings. Although surprisingly little generic work has been written on the history or 'character' of 'Scottish' music (*cf.* Purser 1992) a small number of commentators have argued that there are certain traits that can make a piece of music 'Scottish' (*cf.* Collinson 1966, Davie 1980, Farmer 1970 [1947] and Purser 1992). The most commonly acknowledged 'Scottish' musical traits are linked to particular uses of instrumentation, language and melodic and rhythmic styles.

With regards to instrumentation Davie (1980) argues that the sound of the bagpipe is symbolic to the Scottish nation, but also highlights the ancestry of the fiddle (which he states is particularly important to the music of Shetland and Strathspey) and the *clàrsach* or Celtic harp. Scotland, it is argued, also gains musical peculiarities from

¹⁵ Revill draws in particular on the music (including vocal works) of Delius (1862-1934), Elgar (1857-1934) and Vaughan-Williams (1872-1958).

the linguistic influence not only of English, but also of Scots Gaelic¹⁶ and Scots. As Collinson (1966), Davie (1980) and Purser (1992) illustrate songs that are sung in 'accented' English, Gaelic and Scots are recognisably distinctive to Scotland. However, it is not just the recognition of these languages as being 'Scottish' that is important. Indeed, as I highlight below, Purser (1992) suggests that the rhythm and pitch-variation of spoken Gaelic and Scots has also influenced the melodic and rhythmic character of 'Scottish' music.

'Scottish' music is thought to be melodically and rhythmically distinctive in a number of ways. The most common traits that are discussed in various literatures include the use of 'gapped' pentatonic and hexatonic scales¹⁷, particular forms of ornamentation and melodic variation, octave leaps – particularly in fiddle tunes and songs – and snap rhythms (Collinson 1966 and Purser 1992). The Scots or 'Scotch' snap is the rhythmic figure of a stressed semi-quaver followed by an unstressed dotted quaver (♩.) (*cf.* Collinson 1966). According to Purser (1992) the snap rhythm first appeared in printed volumes of works from the mid-seventeenth century onwards and, he suggests, may reflect a parallel tendency in spoken Gaelic and Scots to accent the first syllables of words. Collinson (1966) argues that the Scots snap is one of the staple rhythms of all Scottish music, but that it is used with particular effect in Gaelic songs where the first note is often shortened to a demi-semi-quaver

¹⁶ There are differences in Scots Gaelic and Irish Gaelic, however, for ease, I shall refer to Scots Gaelic as Gaelic throughout the rest of this thesis.

¹⁷ Pentatonic and hexatonic scales are those that are based on five and six notes respectively. The New Grove Dictionary of Music states that the pentatonic scale is sometimes referred to as the 'Chinese' or 'Scotch' scale (see <http://www.grovemusic.com/index.html>).

followed by a double dotted quaver (♩.). These 'Scottish' musical traits will be discussed in greater detail in chapter five.

Mäkelä (1997) and Whittall (1997) offer interesting commentaries on the idea that national musics can somehow reflect or embody a national character or spirit (as Revill 2000a and 2000b – albeit warily – and Collinson 1966 and Purser 1992 seem to suggest). Indeed, Mäkelä (1997) and Whittall (1997) argue that music cannot *technically* be nationalistic¹⁸ (cf. Langer 1951 [1942] and Scruton 1997). As Whittall (1997) states, it is impossible for something as intangible as 'national spirit' to be given a concrete musical form.

Mäkelä presents a similar argument where he suggests that the nationalistic character of music should be regarded as “a category of reception and intention rather than as something technically musical” (1997: 10). This recognition of the significance of compositional intention and reception is important because, as Mäkelä (1997) argues it means that *any* stylistic feature of music can be 'nationalistic' if it is intended and/or received in that manner. Mäkelä (1997) and Whittall (1997) do not argue against the notion of national musics *per se*, rather what they suggest is that music gains its nationalistic qualities by the political and cultural rhetoric that surrounds the music's creation and reception. In other words, certain musical traits come to be understood as being 'Scottish'.

¹⁸ It should be noted here that Mäkelä (1997) and Whittall (1997) are only referring the melodic style of instrumental music and not to the lyrical content of songs.

Mäkelä (1997) and Whittall's (1997) critiques of those works that suggest that music can technically reflect national characteristics are indicative of a second way in which the relationships between music, national identity, nationalism and the nation-state have been explored. Here the focus moves away from stylistic features of music to explorations of how music is 'used' by ethnic and social groups to either support or subvert the political and cultural interests of a nation-state (*cf.* Attali 1985, Barenboim and Said 2003, Gill 1993, Gilroy 1993 and 1987, Hutnyk and Sharma 2000, Karner 2002 and Stokes 1994). In particular, there has been an interest in the ways in which music can sometimes be understood to articulate nationalistic sentiments that threaten either the existing political structure of a nation-state or particular social and cultural groups that are seen as belonging outside of the 'national community'. For example, Mitchell (1996) explores the relationships between Czech rock music and the fall of communism in the former Czechoslovakia. Lahusen (1993) examines the role that the punk scene plays in encouraging support for nationalist movements in the Basque country (see also Kasmir 2002). Kater (1999), Negus (1996) and Wicke (1985) explore how the promotion of 'national music' was used in the creation of Nazi Germany and Hockenos (1993) highlights the ways in which underground skinhead groups in the former Czechoslovakia contributed to the twin problems of xenophobia and racism.

It is partly because of this 'subversive' and 'threatening' side to the way that music can be used as a medium of communication that nation-states attempt to control the performance and broadcasting of music (Attali 1985 and Shuker 1994). This is a third area of academic interest where the focus is on the ways in which 'national

spaces/territories' and 'national identities' are contested through musical media. There are three main ways in which nation-states can regulate musical performances and broadcasts. Firstly, nation-states can directly control the media and/or make certain kinds of musical performances criminal offences. These strategies are common in authoritarian regimes (Stokes 1994 and Mitchell 1996). However, the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act of 1994, which effectively outlawed large sectors of Britain's rave scene (Cloonan and Street 1997, Ingham *et al* 1999 and Sibley 1998), and the outlawing of drums in U.S. cities at the beginning of the twentieth century when ('African-American') jazz emerged (Merod 1995 and S.J. Smith 1997) illustrate that musical performances can be controlled by any nation-state¹⁹ through legislative means.

A second form of regulation and control, which is inextricably linked to the first is censorship (*cf.* Cloonan 1999 and Cloonan and Street 1997). As Cloonan (1999) illustrates censorship can take a variety of forms from banning certain lyrics from songs, as Roxette discovered when they played in Beijing to preventing the performance of whole songs and acts. For example, Michael Jackson was banned from performing his 'flamboyant' show in South Korea in 1993, because the government thought that it would contradict the austerity package that they were attempting to implement (Cloonan 1999).

¹⁹ It should be noted that total control of the performance and broadcasting of music is rarely possible due to the persistence of 'underground' radio stations and music scenes. Mitchell (1996) and the history of Slovenia's *Radio Student* (available at the time of writing at www.radiostudent.si) provide examples of this.

The final way in which music can be controlled by nation-states involves the adoption of national or domestic content quotas. These involve the implementation of broadcasting laws that state that a certain proportion of all music that is played on the radio has to be 'domestic' in character. As Cloonan (1999) argues, domestic music quotas have been useful strategies for protecting both national cultures *and* domestic music industries in those countries that feel threatened by external cultural sources. Domestic music quotas are therefore implemented not just for cultural, but also economic purposes. At present the strategy of domestic content quotas is employed by countries including Australia, Canada, France, Israel and Jamaica (Cloonan 1999) and there are also calls for such measures to be adopted in other countries such as New Zealand (Shuker and Pickering 1994).

Lehr (1983) provides an interesting account of the ways in which domestic content quotas were adopted in Canada in 1970 as an attempt to produce a unitary Canadian identity over what is an ethnically, linguistically and regionally fragmented country (*cf.* Grenier 1993). However, as Lehr (1983) highlights there are many problems with trying to implement such a policy because of the difficulty in describing, for the sake of legislature, what 'Canadian' music is²⁰. At present, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) states that all commercial

²⁰ According to the Canadian Radio-television Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) 'Canadian' music is that which meets two of the following conditions. 1) the music or lyrics are principally performed by a Canadian – where a Canadian is described as someone with either Canadian citizenship, permanent residency, or who has lived in Canada for the six months prior to their contribution to a musical composition or performance – 2) the music is composed entirely by a Canadian, 3) the lyrics are written solely by a Canadian, 4) the music is a live performance that was either recorded wholly in Canada or performed and broadcast live in Canada or 5) the music was performed after September 1, 1991 and a Canadian who collaborated with a non-Canadian receives at least 50% of the credit as either a composer or a lyricist (CRTC 1986).

Canadian radio stations must devote a minimum of 35% of its music schedule²¹ to 'Canadian' music during peak, weekday broadcasting times (CRTC 1986).

The three broad areas of interest that I have outlined above all provide interesting and useful insights into some of the relationships between music, national identity, nationalism and nation-states. However, they all focus predominantly on music as a form of *representation*, either of 'essential' characteristics of the nation (which, as I argued in chapter two do not 'naturally' exist), or of ideas that subvert the political and cultural ideals of the nation-state. Works such as those highlighted above, I would argue, rely on a conception of music as a form of communication that involves the articulation of fixed and predetermined ways of knowing. In other words, music is studied or used as a form of communication that is instrumental; music is not conceived as a way of knowing, rather it is a medium that simply *reflects* particular meanings and understandings.

This conception of music is problematic (Said 1991). As I explained earlier through using the works of Mäkelä (1997) and Langer (1951) music is not *technically* capable of representing the characteristics of a nation *per se*. Rather it is the social, cultural and political discourses that surround the creation and performance of music that enables 'musical meanings' to be derived. This valuable point is also discussed in the work of Lily Kong. Kong's (1995) work suggests that music is an interesting vehicle for studying national identities precisely because it possesses a structural duality as both an outcome *and* a medium of experience. In other words, music is a

²¹ Although this figure can be modified slightly depending on the type of licence granted to the

medium through which ideas of nation can be reproduced *and* it is also a way in which ideas of nation can be *created*. Kong's (1995) work therefore suggests that music can be conceptualised in ways other than, or more complexly than simply a medium of representation (see also Duffett 2000).

Kong (1995) is not alone in breaking away from a simple conceptualisation of music as a representative medium. In recent years a number of scholars have explored the epistemological potential of music as a vehicle for social enquiry. For example Frith (1996a) argues that music is a medium of experience and Attali (1985) suggests that musical performances can provide a way of understanding the world. Here Attali (1985) argues that music is an instrument of understanding; people should not only theorise *about* music, but should theorise *through* music. This is because, Attali (1985) argues, the production and performance of music reflects the manufacture of society; it constitutes the range of (inter)actions and signs that make up society. Said (1991) produces a complementary argument in *Musical Elaborations* where he argues that music is a mode of thinking through or with cultural practices; a way of ascertaining what is possible, attainable and knowable in the world. Within these epistemological developments the emergence of what are now more commonly referred to as aural or sonic geographies have been of particular interest to me. This development is, in part, a response to broader developments within cultural geography that have highlighted the visual bias within geography and, more broadly, within the social sciences.

Leyshon *et al* (1995), Pocock (1989 and 1993), Porteous (1985), Rodaway (1994) and S.J. Smith (1994) illustrate to good effect the need for more multi-sensory approaches to social thinking. Collectively the above authors stress the need for a consideration of the aural or sonic world in the study of two interrelated phenomena. Firstly, people's experiences of and relationships to particular spaces and places and, secondly, processes of identity formation. For example, Susan Smith (1997) illustrates how musical performances offer new routes for understanding and knowing the spaces of the political economy of Renaissance Italy, the industrialisation of Edwardian and Victorian Britain and the racialised landscape of the USA. Valentine (1995) studies the ways in which music facilitates the production of sexualised spaces and identities and the formation of 'imagined' lesbian communities, and McLeay (1997) demonstrates how multiple listenings of Bruce Springsteen's *Born in the USA* can contest and fracture dominant understandings of US national identities.

These works highlight the idea that music not only *reflects* ideas of identity and place, as the works of Revill (2000a and 2000b), Carney and Nash (1996) and Gill (1993) suggest, but they can also provide a medium through which notions of identity and place can be *created* and *lived*. Undoubtedly, works such as those by the geographers mentioned above have enabled more nuanced understandings of music's role in the experience and creative 'doing' of place and identity. However, it seems to me that scholars often utilise and treat musical performances in ways that are not wholly appropriate for this 're-conceptualised' idea of music. All too often it seems - although with a few notable exceptions including DeNora (2000), DeNora and

Belcher (2000), Duffy (2000), Sloboda (1999) and G. Smith and Brett (1998) - music and musical performances are treated as a things that are done, and/or things that are *seen* rather than *heard*. By this I mean that people have predominantly tended to *look* at music from a 'historical' perspective (*cf.* Cohen 1995, Halfacree and Kitchin 1996, McLeay 1997 and Román-Velázquez 1999). I should qualify this remark by making two further points.

With regards to the treatment of music as a thing done, firstly, in some regards, it is difficult to write about musical performances from anything but a historical perspective. Musical performances are by their very nature finite events, which by the time of writing are usually well and truly over. Therefore it makes sense, in some ways, to write about musical experiences as historical events; experiences that have happened in the past.

In addition, it should not be too surprising that music is often (literally) regarded as a thing that is seen rather than heard. After all, academic thinking has for centuries been dominated by the modern (Cartesian) notion that sight is the most important of the senses. Indeed, as Jay (1993) argues for much of history seeing was assumed to be the equivalent of knowing (see also Ingham *et al* 1999 and Rose 2001). Out of this ocularcentrism arose the rational/irrational dualism, that has influenced the epistemological basis of academic enquiry for many years. Here it was assumed that anything that could be seen could be explored and examined in a 'rational' way (Shepherd 1991). Phenomena that could not be seen or explained through visual methodologies were deemed 'irrational' and therefore unworthy of inclusion in

academic pursuits. As S.J. Smith argues, the visual ideology has influenced academic enquiry in two significant ways. Firstly it has 'erased' non-visual concerns from the academic lexicon for much of the modern era (S.J. Smith 1997) and secondly it has made it very difficult for people to conceptualise a world in which the visual is not central to the experience of space and place and where non-visual experiences are not placed in a visual/non-visual dichotomy (S.J. Smith 2000).

Ironically this visual/non-visual dichotomy also dominates the majority of musicological thinking. As Small (1998) argues it is commonly thought that musical meaning resides in the composed (written down) musical form²² (*cf.* Cook 1999). This kind of thinking comes with four corollaries. Firstly, it assumes that musical performances play no part in the creative process of music making. Secondly it conceptualises musical performances as a kind of one-way system of communication that flows from the composer to the listener. Thirdly it presumes that no performance can be any better than the written work that is being performed – in other words the job of the performer is to try and replicate to the best of their abilities the intentions of the composer. Finally, it suggests that musical works are autonomous and exist without reference to the wider political, social or cultural world (*cf.* Small 1998).

My point here is not to criticise these practices of writing about music as a done thing, or studying musical scores or lyrics *per se*. Rather, my concerns are twofold. Firstly by focusing on the above practices I am worried that there may be something

that is being missed from our understandings of musical performances; a dimension that is not being explored. In particular, I am concerned that the creative potential for different ways of knowing and being that S.J. Smith (2000) highlights is being stifled by old, familiar ways of understanding and doing (*cf.* Sui 2000). These concerns arise out of an exploration of the ways in which musical performances have been studied in the past.

Valuable as works such as that of Carroll and Connell (2000), Gibson (1998) and McLeay (1997) are, they are reflections on music *lyrics*, not on experiences of sounds *per se*. Although they intend (in their introductions and abstracts) to study the 'sounds' of people and places, what they (perhaps unintentionally) do is reduce music to the visual and the tangible, thereby removing the *performance* and the *musical* out of musical performances (*cf.* Godlovitch 1998 and G. Smith and Brett 1998). As Cook (1999) and Small (1998) argue there is a need to explore the ways in which musical meanings are derived from *performances* and not just musical texts.

My second concern is that many contemporary works on musical performances do not fully explore the role that music, as a form of communication that is particularly *emotive*, plays in people's understandings or experiences of place and identity. Whilst many of the authors that I have cited previously acknowledge the emotional power of musical performances, few of them adequately account for music's emotional characteristics (Wood 2002). This, in itself should not be too surprising because in common with other areas of academic enquiry (such as studies of nation

²² This view can, in part, be explained by musicology's dominant focus on 'classical' rather than

and nationalism) scholarly work on music has often neglected emotional considerations (Juslin and Sloboda 2001a).

The result of this 'underplaying' of emotion is that many people tend to produce works on music that are distant and remote from the experience that I, at least, have of musical performances (*cf.* McClary and Walser 1988). Often there is no attempt to try and recapture the 'moment' of the performance in all its emotional intensity. Musical performances (as past events) are simply 'dissected' into their various textual, historical and musical parts and presented before the reader, a practice which, according to McClary (1985), paralyses and destroys the vivaciousness of music. This seems like a curious, although given the 'modern' (masculine) practice of 'rational' academic enquiry not an entirely surprising way to treat music (*cf.* Harding 1994, Lupton 1998, and McDowell 1995). Indeed, as Juslin and Sloboda (2001a) argue, studies of musical performances have 'traditionally' been framed in ways where an appreciation of music is taken to mean having an intellectual understanding of the history and form of musical compositions, rather than an articulated emotional response²³. What is more, according to Juslin and Sloboda (2001a), where emotions *are* discussed in current literatures they tend to be expressed as rarefied forms that relate to 'higher' abstract and aesthetic properties of musical works rather than more 'immediate', 'raw', 'everyday' articulations of emotional experience (see also McClary and Walser 1988).

'popular' music (*cf.* McClary and Walser 1988).

²³ For example, Sharpe (1982) argues that only those with a basic grasp of musical appreciation would talk about emotions and music. 'Proper' musical scholarship transcends such concerns.

This is certainly true of 'traditional' studies of emotion and music. This literature is dominated by diverse and competing theories that seek to explain the nature of musical expressiveness (*cf.* Budd 1995, Juslin and Sloboda 2001b, Matravers 1998 and Robinson 1998). For example, semantic theories of musical expression argue that music is technically capable of expressing definable emotions such as joy, grief and despair (Schopenhauer 1969 [1819]) whereas symbolic approaches suggest that music is emotionally expressive because it resembles (in ways that are expressive beyond the conventions of language) the dynamic structure of emotional life (Åhlberg 1994 and Langer 1951). In addition, expression theorists analyse music's expressiveness as the product of outpourings of emotion by composers (Bouwsma 1950) whereas contour theorists reject such ideas and, instead, argue that music presents emotional characteristics by virtue of the resemblance between music's dynamic structures and those dynamic human actions that express emotions (Davies 1994, 2001 and Kivy 1989).

Whilst these works illustrate the conceptual diversity and development of theories of music and emotional expression as a collection of works they tend to centre on rather 'abstract' discussions of emotion that are presented by musical 'experts'. As a consequence there are few academic discourses available in which to frame and discuss what Juslin and Sloboda (2001a) refer to as *relevant* understandings of emotion; 'everyday' emotional articulations of performances presented by 'ordinary' audiences. Such discourses, they argue have been: -

“...relegated to ‘the discourse of the hallway’ (e.g. Frith 1996), those informal ‘off-duty’ moments when academics allow themselves to say what they feel about the music they study” (Juslin and Sloboda 2001a: 5).

What I want to do is carry out a more holistic exploration of musical performances. I want to incorporate what Juslin and Sloboda (2001a) refer to as the ‘off-duty’ moments of musical experience into academic enquiry. This is because, in the context of my work, it seems that such ‘off-duty’ moments might be vitally important in understanding the ways in which people emotionally experience and express ‘Scottishness’ through musical performances.

I want to understand *how, why and in what ways* music can facilitate particularly emotional experiences of the spaces, places, and social relations of nations and national identities. However, if these kinds of questions are going to be answered, then there needs to not only be an acknowledgement of the re-conceptualisation of music as a medium of (emotional) experience and a way of understanding the world - as suggested by the works of Attali (1985), Frith (1996a), S.J. Smith (1997) and Valentine (1995) – but there also needs to be an incorporation of these ideas into research *methodologies* (cf. Duffy *et al*, forthcoming and Wood 2002). At the time of writing this kind of consideration of the epistemological properties of music is only considered in a handful of works (DeNora 2000, DeNora and Belcher 2000, Duffy 2000 and Holman-Jones 1998).

It appears then that a radical rethink is needed not only with regards to the ways in which music is conceptualised - which as I have illustrated is already happening - but

a different approach is also needed in the ways in which music is *studied* in academic enquiries. Based on my own personal experience of musical performances it seems that an epistemology is needed that allows for an exploration of musical performances as ephemeral, momentary, emotionally intense events that potentially allow for 'different', and more emotionally heightened ways of experiencing space, social relations and self (*cf.* Keil and Feld 1994). One set of ideas, that have recently gained considerable currency in human geography and which I think may offer a route for the development of such an epistemology are notions of performance and performativity. These literatures are not only useful for thinking about the study of musical performances, but they also suggest approaches to conceptualising and exploring the formation of (national) identities. It is to these ideas that I now want to turn.

3.2 Performing Identities

From the mid-1980s the influence of identity politics and post-structuralism has sought to replace the idea of a 'unified' identity with the concept of dynamic, multiple and fractured identities (*cf.* Bondi 1993, Hall 1996, Hetherington 1998, McDowell 1994, and Rose 1993). However, as Williams' (1977) work on 'structures of feeling' suggests, there is an ontological problem with working with dynamic and fractured ideas of identity. This is because people, Williams argues, do not tend to treat the present as something contemporary and in process. Instead...

“...relationships, institutions, and formations in which we are still *actively involved* are converted [...] into formed wholes rather than forming and formative processes” (Williams 1977: 128, emphasis added).

Williams (1977) suggests that there is a tendency to convert the ‘doings’ of contemporary social life into neat packages of experience. Phelan (1993) states that such practices are symptomatic of the lack of value that is attached to ideas of the ‘now’ in all its ephemeral mystery. For Williams (1977) this replacement of the ‘now’ with the past is not an adequate treatment of social experience. As he states: -

“If the social is always past, in the sense that it is always formed, we have indeed to find other terms for the undeniable experience of the present: not only the temporal present, the realization of this and this instant, but the specificity of the present being, the inalienably physical, within which we may indeed discern and acknowledge institutions, formations, positions, but not always as fixed products, defining products.” (Williams 1977: 128).

Williams’ (1977) call for the use of alternative terms with which to talk about the present has been partially answered by the re-conceptualisation of ideas of the ‘now’ that have developed out of notions of performance and performativity. Whilst these ideas are not new *per se* (cf. Goffman 1971 [1959], and Tuan 1977), there has recently been significant interest in the social sciences in the ways in which notions of performance and performativity can liberate social processes, such as identity formation, from being epistemologically treated as fixed products and defining forms that are devoid of emotional influence (cf. V. Bell 1999, Diamond 1996, Fortier 1999, Parker and Sedgwick 1995, Phelan 1993, Pratt 2000, S.J. Smith 2000, Sedgwick 2003 and Thrift 1996 and 2000a).

As the above works illustrate there are many different ways in which ideas of performance and performativity have been incorporated into people's thinking. However, these multiple theorisations of performance are often derived from and characterised by the works of Butler (1993 and 1999 [1990]) and Goffman (1971 [1959] and 1986). Gregson and Rose (2000) offer a useful explanation of the key terms and debates surrounding notions of performance and performativity. They argue that performance – “what individual subjects do, say, ‘act-out’” – is always subsumed within and linked to performativity, where performativity refers to “the citational practices which produce and subvert discourse and knowledge, and which at the same time enable and discipline subjects and their performances” (Gregson and Rose 2000: 434 and 433). Butler (1999) and Goffman (1971) offer contrasting theoretical understandings of performativity.

Butler, talking specifically about gendered identities, argues that gender is constituted through performance (1999: 173). She argues that: -

“Such acts, gestures and enactments, generally construed, are *performative* in the sense that the essence or identity that they otherwise purport to express are *fabrications* manufactured and sustained through corporeal signs and other discursive means” (Butler 1999: 173, emphasis in the original).

Butler suggests that if the reality of gendered identities is fabricated as an interior essence (which, she argues it often is), then, in effect, that very interior essence is an *effect* and *function* of discourse (cf. 1999: 173). Therefore, Butler (1999) rejects the

idea of an anterior notion of the gendered subject (see also Butler 1993), and instead favours an explanatory model whereby...

“Gender [is not] construed as a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts follow; rather, gender is an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a *stylized repetition of acts*” (Butler 1999: 179, emphasis in the original).

Gendered identities are therefore, according to Butler, continually made and remade through various kinds of performances or acts, which are, in turn, both ordered by and created through discourse (*cf.* Bell 1999 and Fortier 1999). Nelson (1999) and Thrift and Dewsbury (2000) offer interesting critiques of Butler’s (1999) work whereby they highlight the aspatial and atemporal nature of Butler’s ‘performances’. In addition, Nelson (1999) states that Butler fails to take account of agency in her theorisation of performativity (*cf.* Carlson 1996). Nelson (1999) draws on Rose’s (1997) notion of reflexivity to argue that subjects may be discursively constituted (as Butler 1993 and 1999 suggests), however they are also capable of negotiating discursively constructed personal histories over a life course. In other words, Nelson (1999) argues that by thinking about identity as an iterative, non-foundational process, Butler (1999) denies subjects their own position as knowledge producers and divorces the performance of identities from temporal-spatial processes.

In addressing the significance of agency and temporal-spatial considerations in theoretical conceptions of performativity Nelson (1999) advocates a study of identity as an iterative non-foundational process *that relates* to intentional (emotional) human practice. Although Nelson (1999) does not draw on his work, Goffman (1971) offers

a complementary argument to that of Nelson. Goffman argues that performance refers to...

“...all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his [sic] continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers. It will be convenient to label as ‘front’ that part of the individual’s performance which regularly functions in a general and a fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance. Front, then is the expressive equipment of a standard kind intentionally or unwittingly employed by the individual during his [sic] performance” (1971: 32).

Unlike Butler (1999) Goffman (1971) engenders the performing subject with agency. Goffman moves away from a non-foundational idea of performativity, as Butler (1999) does, but instead suggests that performances rely on “pre-established patterns of action” (1971: 27). In other words, Goffman (1971) argues that people strategically draw on what they know or conceive to be useful ways of ‘performing’ in order to socialise and communicate with others in particular and desirable ways. However, for me at least, Goffman fails to adequately explain how people derive these pre-established means of performing. If you like, where do people get the scripts of their performances from and in what form/language are they written? What I think is missing from Goffman’s account is a consideration of discourse, where discourse is understood to be the “series of representations, practices and performances through which meanings are produced, connected into networks and legitimized” (Gregory 2000: 180).

It is partly because of Butler’s (1999) emphasis on the significance of discourse in identity formation that I think that it is useful to combine Butler’s (1999) and

Goffman's (1971) theorisations of identity. In doing this performances (in the context of my research) can be conceived as opportunities for better understanding the ways in which national identities are (re)produced and experienced through 'repetitive, stylized acts' (*cf.* Butler 1999) which may or may not be performed in response to, or through an engagement with pre-existing 'acts' or discourses of national identity. This belief is developed not only out of an engagement with the works of Butler (1993 and 1999) and Goffman (1971) on performativity, but is also heavily influenced by a methodological interest that I have in non-representational styles of research.

3.3 Non-Representational Thinking

Non-representational styles of thinking gain their inspiration from performing arts such as theatre, dance and music. Nigel Thrift (1996) suggests that non-representational thinking has developed out of a diverse range of philosophies and theories including pragmatism, feminism, psychoanalysis, cultural theory and literary hermeneutics. According to Thrift non-representational thinking is a: -

“radical attempt to wrench the social sciences and humanities out of their current emphasis on representation and interpretation by moving away from a view of the world based on contemplative models of thought and action towards theories of practice which amplify the potential flow of the events” (2000b: 556).

Engaging with a non-representational style of research presents an ambitious epistemological and ontological challenge, which requires an active engagement with

process and practice. Thrift (1996) states that non-representational thinking is not a singular concept, however, he outlines six main tenets that have been adopted in varying degrees by those who engage with this way of thinking. These are summarised below.

Firstly, non-representational thinking questions those theories that claim to re-present some 'naturally present' reality. Instead it argues that our sense of the 'real' is constituted through practices (*cf.* Rorty 1999 and Taylor 1992a). Secondly, and following this logic non-representational thinking values practice and presentation above representation. Thirdly, this valorisation of 'thought-in-action' emphasises the importance of the 'moment' in that it suggests that representation is a necessary part of any performance or presentation, but that these 'momentary' events only allow for specific kinds of (re)presentational practices. In other words, this third aspect of non-representational thinking highlights the need to study the moment (and all of the performative practices and (re)presentations of that moment) in order to better understand the relations of power that allow certain (re)presentations of past experiences and understandings to be presented in the creation of the present.

Fourthly, non-representational thinking requires working with the whole body. It valorises all of the senses and places importance on experiencing affects. Drawing on the work of Vygotsky (1987) Thrift (1996) states that affects are of primary importance because thoughts are not born of other thoughts. Indeed, thoughts are born of affects. Fifthly, and related to the last point, non-representational thinking suggests a degree of scepticism regarding the 'linguistic turn' in the social sciences.

This is because of way in which it encourages people to engage in 'disembodied' research practices where the visual and the verbal are regarded as primary sources of knowledge over and above other sensory experiences.

Finally, non-representational thinking is concerned with a different notion of 'explanation'. Put simply, this relies on understanding a person or social situation, not so much in the sense of becoming enlightened about something that you were previously ignorant of, rather it is concerned with understanding the "options people have as to how to live" (Thrift 1996: 8). It is argued by Thrift (1996) that for this reason non-representational thinking is more ethical than other approaches. This is because it attempts to move away from a preoccupation with cognitive facts *per se*, and moves towards a more *empathetic* understanding of the social world by encouraging a more active engagement with the world that we want to understand more about. In other words, it relies upon participating in and 'living' the world in which we are interested in rather than simply observing it from a distance. Therefore one moves away from simply 'explaining' social phenomena from a disengaged and distant perspective and seeks to actively recognise the role and experience of the researcher in processes of knowledge production. I argue that this different way of 'explaining' also invites a more active engagement with the emotional aspects of people's interactions with each other and the world in which they live.

Thrift (1996) makes it clear that non-representational thinking does not deny the importance of cognition, nor does it reject the reality of representations. Indeed, Thrift (1996) highlights the significance of a whole range of 'imagined

understandings' that are drawn upon and shared by every culture (*cf.* Castoriadis 1987). Instead, Thrift argues, non-representational thinking attempts to: -

“situate these imagined understandings, as only a part of a broader process of knowledging. In other words, representational effort is always firmly embedded in a contextually specific process of social negotiation” (1996: 8).

In some ways it is easy to question the validity of non-representational thinking as a radical approach to intellectual enquiry. After all, writing almost a century earlier, pragmatist thinkers like William James and John Dewey were highlighting the significance of practice in the construction of truth (James 1947 [1909] and 1932 [1909]) and were advocating philosophies of lived experience as routes to social and political reform (Dewey 1930). Similarly, phenomenologist scholars like Martin Heidegger (1980 [1927]) suggested that in order to understand human life it is necessary to appreciate the ways in which humans engage with new possibilities, challenges and attitudes through various practices. In addition, later works by a number of feminist scholars have highlighted the need for more ethically grounded social research that is sensitive to and empathetic with the lived experiences of research subjects (C. Katz 1992 and 1994, England 1994 and Rose 1993). However, whilst the ethical concerns and philosophical premises of/for non-representational thinking may not be new *per se* (see S.J. Smith's 1984 discussion of pragmatism and humanistic geography), I do think that there are aspects of non-representative thinking that *are* distinctive and original.

For me, the value of non-representational thinking is threefold. Firstly, it brings together and develops a range of philosophical positions (such as pragmatism, phenomenology, and existentialism) in order to explore practices *at the moment of their doing*. Rather than talking about and studying practices in an abstract manner, non-representational thinking insists on active engagements with specific, temporally and spatially defined, practices. It encourages an exploration and presentation of emotional and embodied experiences of social practices, which are, on the whole, missing from those works on nation and nationalism and musical performances that I have discussed so far. Secondly, non-representational thinking is also valuable to me *as a geographer* because it (albeit implicitly) promotes an awareness of the social, cultural, political and emotional geographies through and in which social practices are negotiated and performed. Finally non-representational thinking attempts to move beyond the simple search for representations of social phenomena and, instead, focuses on the contextually specific processes through which both 'familiar' and 'new' representations are (re)created. For me, it is these foci on the *doing* of practices which makes non-representational thinking both distinctive and valuable as a mode of academic enquiry and, more specifically, as a useful conceptual and methodological framework for my research, which I will now embellish on in the next two sections.

3.4 Performance as Theory and Practice?

So far I have put forward arguments for why musical performances are a useful vehicle for studying (Scottish) national identities. I have critically outlined a number

of approaches, which have been used to study musical performances and identity formation in the past and I have argued that non-representational approaches offer a useful conceptual and methodological framework for my research. In this section I want to outline, more specifically, three qualities of musical performances that I regard as being useful/significant in the study of (Scottish) national identity formation, and which I wish to gain a better understanding of in my empirical investigation. As I will illustrate shortly, these three qualities are quite different from those that have formed the basis of previous academic studies of music and national identity formation.

Firstly, musical performances constitute a variety of particular kinds of spaces. It almost goes without saying that the 'physical' spaces that performances take place in vary considerably and that physical surroundings can affect people's experience of these events. However, drawing on Lefebvre (1991) and Rose (1999) I argue that practices of music making create certain kinds of spaces; spaces produced, performed and occupied by sensory phenomena, as well as products of the imagination such as "projects and projections, symbols and utopias" (Lefebvre 1991: 12). These emotional, social spaces that are constituted through musical performances are multiple and shifting both within and between musical performances, but as Cumming (2000), Lefebvre (1991) and Valentine (1995) suggest they constitute spaces in which 'new' and 'different' senses of self, others and community can be experienced.

The late musicologist, philosopher and violinist Naomi Cumming illustrates this point nicely in the following description of her experience of performing.

“A violin’s “whisper” needs to be heard at the back of the hall, so any reluctance to project the sound can only be put aside. I take the feeling “this is like being engulfed by space” and turn it into a sense of filling the space around with a subtle but penetrating sound. In the process of changing my relationship to space, I discover a new possibility of “self”, a new construction of my embodied position and relative dominance” (Cumming 2000: 13).

As the above quote suggests the spaces of musical performances are created and experienced through and in response to emotions. Performing music, Cumming suggests, involves overcoming the doubt and fear of having to fill a ‘public’ space with sound. Once her reticence disappears though she is rewarded with feelings of empowerment as she engages in the creative practice of producing (and therefore gaining control over) a particular social and emotional space.

Musical performances do not only constitute the spatial context for ‘new’ and ‘different’ senses of self, others and community. They are also spaces of multiple and ‘different’ ways of ‘being’, knowing and understanding (S.J. Smith 2000). This is a second way in which a study of musical performances can enrich our understanding of how national identities are (re)created, lived and experienced. Parker and Sedgwick argue that performative analysis can demonstrate the contingent, heterogeneous and contestable nature of the relationship between a subject and an ‘utterance’ (1995: 14). This sentiment is supported by the works of Deleuze and Guattari (1987) and Rorty (1999).

Using the notion of rhizomatic assemblages Deleuze and Guattari (1987) argue that philosophically the world has 'traditionally' been explained using arborescent (or tree like) images. Here the three domains of representation (as in speaking of), subject and concept and have been artificially split and concepts (which might be roots or branches of the tree) are seen to be develop out of previous understandings and ideas (Deleuze and Guattari 1987 and Massumi 1987). Deleuze and Guattari (1987) propose that a rhizomatic²⁴ image of thought might be more suitable where concepts are never stable, but in a state of constant flux as they are modified and/or transformed. As Patton (2000) explains Deleuze and Guattari do not argue against systematic characters *per se*, but rather in the nature in which the system develops. Deleuze envisages a "system in perpetual heterogeneity" (Deleuze 1993 quoted in Patton 2000: 17).

Similarly, Rorty (1999) argues that there is no anterior 'reality'. What we know about the world is formed through the continuous processes of knowledge production (*cf.* Butler 1991 and 1993). If the world is in a constant state of making (as Rorty and other pragmatists such as James 1947 suggest) then it makes little sense to talk of representations as fixed and stable phenomena. This is because, Rorty (1999) argues, there is no 'reality' to be represented. Following this logic Rorty (1999) suggests that representations are not representative *per se*, instead they are ways in which experiences and understandings are constituted and communicated (*cf.* Duncan

²⁴ Deleuze and Guattari (1987) argue that the world is not treelike, instead the world is more like a rhizomatic structure where roots and shoots coexist underground. Unlike a tree if the roots of a

2000). Representations therefore only gain meaning through practice; through performing and living them (*cf.* Thrift 1996).

The contingent, heterogeneous and contestable nature of the relationship between a subject and an 'utterance' that Parker and Sedgwick (1995) highlight comes from the creative potential of realising that representations are tools of understanding rather than representations of 'reality'. Dewsbury's (2000) work suggests that musical performances are filled with gaps or ruptures in our ways of knowing or understanding that are potentially the location for new (creative) ways of knowing and being (*cf.* Harrison 2000).

In a Deleuzian inspired discussion of the times of performances Dewsbury (2000) argues that there are basically two kinds of time (see Deleuze 1990 and 1991). The first, Chronos, is the notion of time irretrievable; time is forever slipping into the past (*cf.* 2000: 478). The second form of time is Aion. Aion contrasts Chronos "by not judging time purely in relation to the death of its contents" (Dewsbury 2000: 479). Instead, time is something that is virtual and continuous. Dewsbury (2000) argues that Aion gives credence to a non-representative way of experiencing the world; a pregnant notion of time that is full of possibilities. As time marches on there is, according to Dewsbury (2000) a point of temporal forking into what happened and what might have been. It is at the point of this temporal divergence that there is a gap; a moment of creativity that exists prior to our interpretation and making sense of the present. Dewsbury (2000) suggests that musical performances are useful sites for

rhizome are dissected then entirely new, yet interconnected systems of rhizomes can sprout forth from

studying these gaps of creative potential²⁵. Musical performances present opportunities where meanings can be negotiated, challenged and (re)defined. These ideas will be discussed in greater depth in chapter five when I explore the ways in which people 'recognise' and experience notions of 'Scottishness' through musical performances.

Building on Dewsbury's (2000) work, the final way in which a study of performances can deepen our understanding of how national identities are (re)created, lived and experienced is through a challenge to established conceptions of the 'present'. As Williams argued in his work on 'structures of feeling' (see page 77) there is a need to find a way of exploring the "undeniable experience of the present" (1977: 128) and to move from a conception of the social world as a set of past, fixed forms towards a conception of the social world as a phenomenon that is in continuous formation (*cf.* Grosz 1999a). Whilst I agree with Williams' (1977) sentiments, I argue that in order to understand how social practices such as identity formation 'work' there needs to be a reconsideration of the ways in which relationships between past, present and future are conceptualised (*cf.* Bell 1999, Cheah 1999, De Landa 1999, Dewsbury 2000 and Grosz 1999a and 1999b).

Bell (1999) drawing on Butler's (1997) work, *Excitable Speech*, argues that:-

the 'original' structure.

²⁵ Deleuze and Guattari (1987) suggest that musical performances are rhizomatic assemblages, producing potentially new conceptual and representational structures.

"The performative power of the illocutionary act rests upon prior conventions such that the 'moment' of performativity is a 'condensed historicity', in Butler's words, that 'exceeds itself in past and future directions, an effect of past and future invocations that constitute and escape the instance of utterance' (Bell 1999:8, see also Butler 1997: 3).

Bell (1999) states that the 'moment' created by musical performances is the location of a complex relationship between past, present and future (*cf.* Thrift 1996). For Bell (1999) and Butler (1997) the 'moment' or the present is, in part constituted from conceptions of the past. However, the past is, as Hobsbawm (1983), Massey (1995) and A.D. Smith (1997) illustrate continuously (re)made in the present. Therefore, from a constructionist perspective, there is a dynamic relationship between past and present as notions of the past influence the ways in which people understand both themselves and others to be, yet those conceptions of the past are constantly (re)produced, brought to the fore and manipulated in the present. These processes of (re)production, remembering and manipulation are of course highly politicised and emotionally charged 'acts'.

The present though is also the location of 'becoming', of experiencing the future in action, of 'thinking the 'unknown'' (*cf.* Grosz 1999b, Phelan 1993 and Williams 1977). If the 'moment' of the present is embraced as a creative space/time (Massey 1993) then the present is, potentially, 'pregnant' with opportunities (Cheah 1999). If the future is not regarded as something that is simply understood by 'old', established ways of knowing and being, then there is the space – in the 'gap' conceived by Dewsbury (2000) – for alternative and new ways of knowing, being and understanding. Massey (1995) describes this creative ontological space as the

space/time for politics. Rajchman (1999) writing in a similar vein to Massey (1995) highlights the importance that this creative (political) space has for potentially challenging hegemonic ways of knowing and understanding and thus producing a space for effective minority politics. A space of hope where 'new' and 'alternative' ways of knowing and understanding challenge and reshape people's conceptions of the past. Given the ways in which 'traditional' notions of 'Scottishness' seem to be rooted in exclusionary, historic, representations and constructions of national identity studying 'Scottishness' through musical performances may shed light on 'new' and 'alternative' conceptions of 'Scottishness' that better reflect contemporary Scotland's social and cultural diversity. In other words, musical performances might be timespaces where more open and inclusive notions of 'Scottishness' are performed and negotiated. This is an empirical question, which I will address in this thesis.

I have illustrated in this section how there have recently been calls for more practice-orientated studies of social processes. It seems ironic then that, given the practice-orientated nature of theories of performativity and non-representational thinking, so many of the works outlined above are based on abstract discussions of performances. For me (and indeed for many of the authors that I have cited) it seems that there is a real need to adopt the theoretical ideas of performativity and non-representational styles of thinking in the *practice* of academic inquiry for two reasons. Firstly, a more detailed understanding is needed of the practice of performance and secondly there is a need to grasp how some of these practices are taken on and add meaning to areas of everyday life such as the expression and experience of national identities.

3.5 Non-Representational Thinking in Action.

Geraldine Pratt argues that social scientists have yet to put much of their theoretical talk into research *practices* (cf. 2000: 639). As she, in my opinion, rightly states: -

“Our talk may be that of poststructuralists, postcolonialists, or social constructivists, but our practice continues to be that of colonising humanists; it is the self-induced invisibility of our disciplinary procedures that allows this” (Pratt 2000: 639).

Pratt's (2000) argument marks a response to those calls by many feminists for greater openness and self-reflexivity in research practices (cf. Rose 1997). However, Pratt's work also speaks to those, including myself, who are interested in non-representational styles of research. It is surprising to me that, given the practice-orientated nature and political and ethical implications of non-representational thinking, it has not been incorporated more often into empirical research²⁶.

There are a number of potential anxieties with carrying out research that relies on non-representational styles of thinking. As Nash highlights: -

“Thrift [in his exhortation on non-representational theory] is advocating a new and demanding direction for cultural geography, away from the analyses of texts, images and discourses, and towards understanding the micro-geographies of habitual practices, departing from deconstructing representations to explore the nonrepresentational” (2000: 656).

²⁶ Thrift's (2000) work on dance is an obvious exception here.

For reasons explored in the previous section a move towards non-representational styles of research could, potentially, lead to enriched ways of understanding how national identities are (re)created, lived and experienced. But how can this be achieved? In all the theoretical musings on putting performance into practice and embracing non-representational styles of research there is little in the way of 'practical advice' on adopting the principals of performativity and non-representational thinking in research projects.

My work then seeks not only to understand more about the ways in which national identities are (re)formulated and experienced in everyday social practices, but it is also, in part, a methodological 'experiment' in trying to carry out non-representative styles of research. As I highlighted in chapter two the current focus on symbolic representations in theories of nation and nationalism seldom address what it is like to 'feel' Scottish. Nor do they explore the experience of the emotional attachments that Scots have to ideas of coming from Scotland and belonging to a 'Scottish' community (*cf.* Connor 1993 and Martin 1997).

What initially attracted me to non-representational thinking was that it offered a way of exploring in greater depth the emotional experience and practice of 'Scottishness'. Using a non-representational style of research would not only allow me to access the ways in which 'Scottishness' is emotionally (re)created and experienced, but it would also allow me to explore those phenomena that people experience as *being* 'Scottish'. Is 'Scottishness' and being 'Scottish' tied up only with those symbolic

representations and cultural bases of nation that I explored in chapter two, or are there also 'alternative' and 'different' ways of being 'Scottish'?

Early on in my research I decided that I wanted to try and get as close to the 'moment' of musical performances as possible. Etymologically the word 'moment' is interesting. According to the Oxford dictionary it can refer to "a very brief portion of time; an instant", "a short period of time" or "an exact point of time" (Concise Oxford Dictionary 1990). It seems then that there is some ambiguity between instantaneous notions of 'the moment' and longer, yet still temporary, conceptions of the term. For me though when talking about 'the moment' of musical performances I think that it refers to a more complicated conception of time, which cannot be detached from notions of space.

The 'moment', for me, connotes a particular relationship between space and time that is constituted by the social relations which are formed during processes of 'musicking' (Small 1998). Where musicking refers to: -

"[taking] part, in any capacity in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or by practising, by providing material for performance (what is called composition), or by dancing" (Small 1998: 9).

The moment in this context refers to what May and Thrift (2001) might call the timespace of musical performance. It is, if you like, the 'bubble' that is constituted from the practice of music making. This 'bubble' consists of a temporary, elastic surface that can accommodate a small amount of external and internal interference.

Ultimately though, the bubble is a fragile phenomenon that can burst at any given time if the tension that holds its delicate structure together is broken.

The 'moment' (in a longer-term sense) though is not experientially a uniform or stable structure. Like a bubble that floats in air it is susceptible to instability from both within and without its boundaries as the pressure of the gases both inside and outside of the structure alters. Just as bubbles are susceptible to disturbance from internal and external pressures, so too are the 'moments' of musical performances. The temporal bonds that are formed between audience members and artists that constitute the timespaces of performances go through periods of stability and instability until they are finally broken from either within the performance timespace or out-with of it. I want to access these 'moments' of musical performance and to explore the ways in which social relations are practised in these particular timespaces. After all if I accept, as S.J. Smith (2000) argues that musical performances constitute spaces (and times) for different ways of 'being', knowing and understanding, then it seems appropriate that I focus my research on these specific timespaces; 'the moment' of musical performances.

In engaging in non-representative thinking it became apparent that some form of participant sensing would be a valuable methodological tool for me to use. In order for me to understand what was happening during the performances I would need to experience the events that I was studying; to live and be part of them. The methods that I used were flexible to the physical, social and musical contexts of the performances (*cf.* McGuigan 1997). I attended twelve performances at Celtic

Connections and fourteen whole or partial acts²⁷ at T in the Park (see appendix one for a more detailed list). I wanted to record experiences of musical performances as close to their 'doing' as possible. I wanted to move away from treating musical performances as 'done' things and, instead treat them as 'becomings' (cf. Grosz 1999a and 1999b) so that I could tap into their potential for allowing different ways of being and knowing. This was a difficult task to undertake though.

Initially I thought about asking people to attend certain performances and to write down their experiences of them as they were in action. However, I decided to not use this method because I felt that it was an imposition to ask people to carry out such a laborious task without payment and paying people to 'produce' research data was, for me, an unethical practice to undertake²⁸. I therefore decided that I would carry out this task myself. Some people may think it odd or even problematic for an Englishwoman to carry out 'participant sensing' in a project that explores ideas of 'Scottishness'. Whilst my 'Englishness' undoubtedly affects my experience of 'Scottish' performances, it does not follow that I am unable to experience 'Scottishness' or comment more generally on the concerts.

For pragmatic reasons notes were taken at ten of the twelve performances at Celtic Connections and none of the performances at T in the Park. This is because I decided to take notes only at events that were 'seated'. I attempted to note my experiences of an 'arena' style concert at Celtic Connections and quickly gave up

²⁷ At T in the Park the 'boundaries' between performances are much more fluid, so there is a greater tendency to wander between acts.

because I found it to be too intrusive on my experience of the concert. One of the points of standing at a concert is that you can dance, and move around; practices that do not mix easily with writing²⁹.

DeNora and Belcher (2000) have had considerable success with audio-recording people's experience of music in retail spaces. They took their research participants on shopping excursions and asked them to talk them through their experiences of shopping in the different 'soundscapes' of high street shops. DeNora and Belcher (2000) 'shadowed' their participants at a distance – taking notes on their physical engagement with the music – and recorded their participants' responses using small clip-on microphones. I had thought of employing a similar method during my research but decided that it was impractical to talk through a musical performance and, after consulting festival organisers I realised that there were also copyright restrictions that prevented me from using microphones in the performances³⁰. So I settled on taking notes at performances when and where I could.

Note taking was an unusual and, at times, unsettling experience. The majority of performances at Celtic Connections were of the 'traditional' concert style, whereby I sat in a concert hall or similar setting facing the stage where the musicians would assemble to play. Initially the auditorium was lit, however, when the performers

²⁸ I felt that there was a danger that people, feeling pressured by the power-relationship between 'employer' and 'employee' would try and produce material that they thought would be 'useful' to me.

²⁹ At T in the Park there was the additional problem that it was too rainy to write notes.

³⁰ Both Celtic Connections and T in the Park had sold their broadcasting rights to the BBC. BBC Radio Scotland, BBC Radio 2 and the digital television channel BBC Choice broadcast performances from Celtic Connections and BBC 1 (Scotland) showed edited highlights from T in the Park.

entered the stage the lights dimmed so that the stage, and the performers on it, were the focal point of the event. Although I had attended many music concerts prior to my research, it was only when I began my research that I realised how rigid the social conventions of musical performances are. Before the concerts began I would look around trying to work out what kinds of audience were attending the concert. If I looked behind more than once or twice those sat behind me would stare at my 'nosy' behaviour. I duly noted approximated social characteristics of the audience, and I also described the layout of the stage. Then, as the performers entered the stage and began to play, I would try to take notes on the performance as it occurred. I would write about what I was seeing both on stage and in the surrounding audience, and I would also note what I was hearing, attempting to describe musically how the music sounded and also jotting down the gist of any lyrics. In addition, I also recorded the banter that was going on amongst audience members and performers. Perhaps most importantly though I tried to write about what I was feeling; to capture the (dynamic) 'mood' of the performance, and what, emotionally, was I experiencing.

I sensed that people thought that it was extremely odd for me to be sitting in a performance taking notes. Some people apparently assumed that I was a journalist who was reviewing the concert³¹. People seemed to be curious about what I was doing, although nobody ever asked me why I was taking notes³². On a number of

³¹ These thoughts were given away by the 'knowing smiles' that I received when performers made comments about the press.

³² These kinds of situations give rise to a number of ethical concerns. There is a 'covert' element to my research methodology. However, it is not covert in the sense that I was knowingly deceiving the audience or trying to elicit information from them without making my motives clear. Instead, the

occasions people attempted to read what I was writing. This made me feel uneasy and embarrassed as I was sometimes writing about the audience and did not want to be exposed as some kind of voyeur snooping in on other people's experience of the concert. These sentiments are illustrated quite nicely in some of my performance notes.

Anne Lorne Gillies.

Debut as a pianist. People gasp in delight at her introduction of the song about a wife who is dying. Wife tenderly plants flowers in the back garden. She tells husband that when blossoms fall take them to the front to get the sun because she won't be there to do it.

Beautiful piano accompaniment. Quite a classical style.

Guy next to me kisses his partner's hand.

Maggie MacInnes

"Hymn to the Virgin Mary"

27 verses so will stick to birth.

Song passed down by Great Aunt Mary. She sang it like a prayer.

Guy to my right tries to read what I'm writing. I feel slightly uncomfortable. Thank God it's gone dark again.

Again her voice fills the arena. The tune is a beautifully haunting melody...

(Performance notes taken from Gaelic Women, Glasgow Royal Concert Hall, Main Auditorium, 13/01/00)

I hoped that the combination of my 'shorthand', the darkness of the auditorium and the scruffiness of my handwriting (an unfortunate outcome of writing in the semi-dark) meant that people could not read what I was writing. Nevertheless I found note taking to be an unsettling and awkward task to undertake.

covert element arose because it was simply not practical to ask everyone in the audience for their consent to include them in my research. With this in mind I have been particularly careful to maintain the anonymity of those audience members that I 'covertly studied' in performances. Such conduct is in keeping with the British Sociological Association's (2002) statement of ethical practice.

Taking notes during the performance not only singled me out as something 'other' than a regular concert attendee, but it also impacted significantly on my performance experiences. I found that I missed things when I was writing and also became quite frustrated with the process of note taking for two reasons. Firstly, it was difficult to articulate what was happening and how I was feeling. Pratt's (2000) work provides some source of comfort as she too struggles with the task of collecting and using 'alternative' experiential forms of knowledge. Part of my problem though was caught up with the nature of musical performances. As Phelan (1993) explains, the 'wonder' of performances is that they only gain meaning in their disappearing. In other words, Phelan (1993 and 1997) argues that performances only exist in the present. Recording or documenting performances transforms them into something quite different. However, Phelan (1993) suggests that such practices of 'recovering' memories of performances are important as people's experiences of performances are only understood through the ways in which they ontologically frame them (*cf.* Goffman 1986).

A second source of frustration came from the uncertainty of what it was that I was trying to hear or look for. If non-representational practices are about being open to the possibility of new and different ways of being Scottish, then everything is potentially important for understanding 'Scottishness' as a diverse and dynamic phenomenon. Initially I found engaging with this idea to be quite stressful. What if I missed something that was really important? Indeed, how would I know that I had missed it?

These concerns are, of course, in some senses futile. As Bennett and Shurmer-Smith (2001) remind us: -

“It’s impossible in the field to know what’s important, as you never know what will lead to something interesting and what just fizzles out; which people turn out to be crucial in a connection between say two cliques, even though they don’t seem terribly important in themselves” (Bennett and Shurmer-Smith 2001: 255).

What I had to do was to learn to be as open in the way that I experienced these performances as I could. I had to write down those aspects of my experiences that seemed pertinent and important *at the time of doing*; to highlight for future reference those aspects of the musical performances that were interesting, powerful and important at that moment. In adopting this kind of approach I moved away from trying to write a commentary on the performances and so circumnavigated the ‘god trick’ of ‘infinite vision’ that Haraway (1988) warns against. Instead, I acknowledged (and used) my position as a participant in the performances to gain a partial insight into what was ‘becoming’ at these events. Katy Bennett highlights the value of this kind of practice in a letter to Pam Shurmer-Smith...

“Far better than to re-present, to try to represent, is to evoke (I’m thinking about Tyler’s (1986) chapter now). To evoke is sensuously to depict, requiring the writer to move beyond re-presenting what is visual; requiring the writer to move beyond describing what was/is looked at and objectified (Clifford 1986). Evoking requires the writer to have subjectively engaged in a more sensuous experience and to write down, up, out (from her entangled positionings) what she smelt, felt, heard, tasted... sensed... At best I evoke, at worst I end up re-presenting” (Bennett and Shurmer-Smith 2001: 254).

The idea of writing evocations of musical performances appeals to me. It allows me to move away from providing some sort of definitive experience of the performances³³ and instead concentrate on recording some aspects of the performances that might be 'lost' or 'transformed' in my own and others memories of the events.

Note taking proved to be revealing for a number of reasons. Not only did it highlight the difficulty of articulating musical experiences in words (*cf.* Phelan 1993 and 1997, Pratt 2000 and S.J. Smith 1994), but it also exposed the way in which people can become intensely involved in participating in musical performances. At times I became so engrossed in the performance and that I ceased to take notes. In some senses these absences are as revealing as the notes themselves. They signify instances of intense engagement in the practice of 'musicking' (Small 1998). They illustrate the power of music as a medium of communication.

Looking back over my performance notes, they are a useful means of partially capturing 'the moment' of musical performances. However, I was also interested in other people's experiences of these events. I decided to interview people as close to 'the moment' of the performances as possible for two reasons. Firstly to capture some of their emotional responses whilst they were still being experienced and, secondly, to get their initial reactions of the performances. These interviews tended to be only a few minutes long (as people wanted to get away to either catch other acts or go home) and focused on the emotional experience of the performances as well as

³³ Something that I wanted to avoid at all cost.

some more contextual questions about their 'musical' content. In total I carried out 58 short 'on the spot' interviews with people at Celtic Connections and T in the Park and, as I will illustrate throughout the rest of my thesis, they are a valuable way of capturing some of the 'raw' emotional experiences of musical performances³⁴. These 'on the spot' interviews were complemented with three group and twenty-two individual, semi-structured, in-depth interviews that were conducted with audience members in the weeks following the festivals³⁵. The in-depth interviews provide an interesting contrast to the responses that I obtained from the on the spot interviews. As I will demonstrate shortly, the in-depth interviews generally lack the emotional enthusiasm of the on the spot interviews and are delivered in a far more 'deliberate' and considered manner.

In addition to exploring the experiences of audience members, I also wanted to explore the experiences of some of the musicians whose performances I'd attended³⁶. In the weeks following the performances I conducted in-depth interviews with seven

³⁴ Again, there are ethical concerns that had to be addressed here. Given my objective to interview people as close to the 'moment' of performance as possible I felt that it was counter productive to engage in paper-based consent procedures during these 'on-the-spot' interviews. However, I took every care to declare my own identity, motives and research objectives to interviewees so there was nothing covert about my interviews. My recording equipment was declared and clearly visible and all interviews were recorded with consent. In addition all 'on-the-spot' interviewees were given a letter at the end of the interview to outline the purpose of my research and invite them to participate in a longer interview sometime in the near future (an example of this letter can be found in appendix two).

³⁵ In-depth interviewees were recruited via posters that were handed out at the end of concerts (see appendix three).

³⁶ Letters were sent to musicians (or their agents) to request interviews in the weeks following the festivals. Contact addresses were obtained from the Musicians' Union Directory of Members 1999/2000.

individual musicians and a band consisting of four people³⁷. These interviews provided great opportunities for me to find out more about the practice of music making from a musician's perspective. They also allowed me to question musicians about the nature of 'Scottish' music. These interviews were perhaps the most useful as the musicians that I spoke to were able to discuss the practice of performance and articulate their experiences of 'Scottishness' far more easily than many of the audience members that I spoke to. It was obvious in the interviews that musicians thought a great deal about the emotional impact of their work on themselves and their audiences through the course of preparing and performing concerts and so were better placed to talk about such matters than some of my other respondents.

The remaining chapters of this thesis draw on these interviews, along with my performance notes and background information on the performances supplied by three individuals who were involved in the organisation and running of the festivals³⁸, in order to draw out the emotional bond that features so consistently in contemporary debates on the tenacity and power of ideas of nation, nationalism and national identity. I will begin to explore this emotional bond in the next chapter which explores the ways in which musical performances constitute and, in some ways are 'staged' as particular kinds of 'Scottish' timespaces.

³⁷ All interviews in this thesis were taped with the participants' consent and were subsequently transcribed and analysed using HyperRESEARCH. All interviewees are referred to by pseudonyms or their role in the festival except in the case of two musicians who wished their own names to be used. Written consent for me to reveal their identities was obtained in those cases where anonymity was not preserved.

³⁸ I interviewed (individually) the festival co-ordinator and education officer at Celtic Connections. Unfortunately nobody from DF Concerts, who organise T in the Park, was prepared to be interviewed. However, one of the Co-ordinators of T in the Park, kindly agreed to answer some general questions on the background and organisation of T in the Park as long as they were sent in the format of an informal questionnaire (see appendix four).

Chapter Four

Creating (Festive) Spaces for Musical Performances

So far I have argued that musical performances make spaces in and through which to access the emotional geographies that infuse national identities. This chapter shows how the stage is set for performing (in) Scotland. As I will explain later on in this chapter neither Celtic Connections nor T in the Park set out for any explicitly political reasons to promote ‘Scottishness’. However, the very fact that both of these festivals are high profile events that *take place in Scotland* means that they play a role in the cultural (re)production of ‘Scottishness’.

In the last chapter I highlighted some of the ways in which musical performances, as emotionally powerful mediums of communication, are regulated by those institutions that control and maintain nation-states. However, it is not just nation-states that regulate and affect the performance of music. Music is entangled with power at every scale of influence. Indeed, there are a range of social, cultural, political, and economic factors that potentially encourage or dissuade the performance of certain types of music by particular artists in specific spaces and places.

Although the main focus of my research is on particular musical performances, I argue here that the social, cultural, political, and economic contexts in which these performances take place is important or even critical for ‘setting the scene’ for

experiences of ‘Scottishness’. The performances that I study are ‘Scottish’ partly because they are performed in Scotland. *How* they are placed and positioned is part of *what* they are. In this chapter I will outline three interlinked phenomena that potentially impact upon people’s experiences of ‘Scottishness’ at the musical performances that I studied. As stated previously, all of the performances that my respondents and I attended were performed as part of two music festivals - Celtic Connections and T in the Park. What I consider here is firstly how wider social, cultural, political and economic contexts led to the development of the two events. Secondly, I move on to think about how the ways in which these festivals are organised and promoted might ‘set the scene’ for people’s experiences of ‘Scottishness’ and finally I move on to explore the ways in which Celtic Connections and T in the Park provide quite different contexts for studying ‘Scottishness’. This is important because it exposes how the different social contexts of the festivals and their constitutive performances make for heterogeneous articulations of ‘Scottishness’; the settings themselves unsettle essentialist ideas about ‘Scottishness’. Therefore, I highlight the some of the different ways in which people expressed ‘Scottishness’ at Celtic Connections and T in the Park and, in addition, I discuss how these different festival contexts influenced the ways in which I carried out fieldwork at each event.

4.1 Festival Contexts: Organisational Backgrounds

Both of the studied festivals are good occasions in which experiences and expressions of ‘Scottishness’ ‘take place’. However, it would be wrong to infer that

the purposes of, or motivations for these festivals (and indeed the performances through which they are constituted) are explicitly political in nature. Celtic Connections and T in the Park do not (outwardly) have an explicit political agenda for their organisation. In fact, the motivations for putting on these festivals are primarily economic.

Whilst there is no explicit political desire to promote a particular notion of 'Scottishness' in either festival, these *are festivals* and there's a well-developed literature on the cultural politics that are inherently embedded in these types of events (*cf.* Duffett 2000, Falassi 1987, Lavenda *et al* 1984 and Waterman 1998). It is therefore not surprising that the ways in which Celtic Connections and T in the Park are organised and promoted are implicated in how 'Scottishness' is experienced, expressed and (re)produced at these two festivals. I shall argue that the ways in which Celtic Connections and T in the Park are each organised and promoted provides the broad social, cultural and political contexts in which feelings of 'Scottishness' can be lived, expressed and experienced through musical performances. To develop this argument I begin with a description of the organisational and background contexts to both festivals.

4.2 Festival Contexts: Celtic Connections

Celtic Connections is a three-week international music festival held in Glasgow every January. It is widely recognised as being one of a number of large international 'Celtic' music festivals that take place annually around the world; the

Celtic Colours International Festival in Cape Breton and the *Festival Interceltique de Lorient* in Brittany being the most famous examples (see Symon 2002). Described by Chalmers (2000) as Scotland's premier winter music festival, Celtic Connections first came onto the music scene in 1994 as an attempt to increase the use of The Glasgow Royal Concert Hall (GRCH) during one of its less busy times in the year. As the festival co-ordinator, explained during an interview, the GRCH originally intended to put on an event during July and August, which is traditionally a quiet time in their calendar, however competition by the Edinburgh festivals meant that this was impractical.

"Once we'd got over the disappointment of not breaking the July and August market we thought there's definitely got to be something that we can do in January and February; it's dark, people obviously want to go out, something good. That's fine. And what we reckoned was erm... to do a series of one off events was going to be quite time consuming. Each one would have to be marketed separately, so it seemed erm from a company perspective a sensible thing to try and get a themed series of concerts" (Festival Co-ordinator, Celtic Connections)³⁹.

The GRCH, which opened in 1990, has a number of spaces that can be used for performances. The largest, and most commonly used is a 'traditional', 'formal' style auditorium that has a seating capacity of 2000 (see figure 4.1, overleaf). This space is used throughout the year for a variety of musical events including operatic and 'classical' concerts (performed by domestic as well as international companies), children's shows like *The Singing Kettle*, and 'middle of the road' singers such as Tammy Wynette and Daniel O'Donnell.



Figure 4.1 Main Auditorium, Glasgow Royal Concert Hall. Source: www.grch.com

Shows such as those described above brought in mainly middle-aged and older audiences as well as some young children, however, on the whole, they did not attract audiences in their twenties and thirties. As the GRCH was built partly from public funds for the people of Glasgow the Arts Office of the GRCH decided that they should try and devise a series of concerts that would attract the ‘younger’ age group that were largely missing from their events. One way of achieving this, as the festival co-ordinator explains below was to tap into the revival of ‘Celtic’ and more specifically ‘Scottish’ music that was occurring at the time.

“It seemed that if we were going to promote anything we should be trying to bring in an audience that we didn’t get and in the first three years [that the GRCH had been open] we had been aware that Runrig had done very well, Capercaillie had done well, Mary Black had, you know, sold out two nights back to back. Christie Moore had come in and done a series of concerts so I know it was only the tip of the iceberg if you want to define folk music and Celtic music they were there as sort of beacons or benchmarks that something seriously important was happening with the music and they were playing prestigious venues now and there’s... there was a sense of erm change politically in the culture and people

³⁹ Details and description of all interviews and interviewees are set out in appendix five.

seemed to be more interested in traditional music and folk music”
(Festival Co-ordinator, Celtic Connections).

The quotation above suggests that something significant was happening culturally and politically at the beginning of the 1990s in Scotland regarding the interest in and status of traditional and folk music. This apparent change seems to lead to an increased popularity of not only Scottish artists who played traditional and folk music at the GRCH, but also those artists from other ‘Celtic’ territories⁴⁰ that perform similar kinds of music (*cf.* Harvey *et al* 2002). In addition, as the co-ordinator of Celtic Connections goes on to explain, this increased interest in folk and traditional music also manifested itself in a growing popularity in ceilidhs that began to be held regularly throughout the city. These proved to be especially popular with young people.

“...one definite fact that we had [that supported the notion that traditional and folk music was gaining popularity] were that ceilidhs were very much in vogue in ’93. The Riverside club was doing very well, there was ceilidhs in the Ferry, there was... ceilidhs were back in fashion and it was attracting a young audience” (Festival Co-ordinator, Celtic Connections).

The increased interest in folk and traditional music that is described above, whilst being of significance, is not unusual within Scottish history. Indeed, it appears that there have been at least three previous ‘Scottish’ folksong revivals in the past. These events form part of a broader trend of ‘ethnic revivals’ that have swept across

⁴⁰ Pittock (1999) states that the term Celtic is complex and contested as its meaning has changed over time to variously describe the peoples and cultures of Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Brittany (France), Cornwall, and the Isle of Man. Writing in the Celtic Connections souvenir brochure, Mathieson (2000) also refers to Cape Breton (Canada), Galicia (Spain) and the Celtic diaspora in the USA as ‘Celtic’ territories.

Western Europe over the past two centuries (A.D. Smith 1981). MacNaughton (1980) identifies a folksong revival in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which arose in conjunction with the growth of literary romanticism. Henderson (1980) and MacNaughton (1980) recognise a later revival in the 1950s, which was fuelled, in part, by the study and collection of Scottish folksong material by members of the School of Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh⁴¹. Finally, Symon (1997) argues that there was a third revival in the 1970s and 1980s. This was apparently a cultural response to a disillusionment with party politics, which culminated in 1979 with the failed referendum on Scottish independence and feelings of increased alienation from the Anglo-British state by Thatcherite 'new right' policies (Symon 1997 and Devine 1999)⁴².

Although there is no mention of a distinctive 'fourth' revival in any of the relevant literatures – which could explain the revival that the co-ordinator of Celtic Connections describes – some interviewees did discuss the links between Celtic Connections and an earlier revival in Scottish music and culture. For example, in the following quote Fraser states that Celtic Connections has definite links to the revival that Symon (1997) outlines. He said: -

“...well Celtic Connections is all to do with the revival of Scottish culture and music... [...] I mean certainly Celtic Connections wasn't the revival, it was well before that, I don't know, sort of late seventies, early

⁴¹ Hamish Henderson and Calum Maclean are key figures here.

⁴² As McCrone (1992) illustrates since the 1970s to the time of his writing there was an increasing divide between English and Scottish voting patterns in general elections, with the Scottish vote for the Conservatives virtually halving in Scotland between 1955 and 1987, whilst in England support for the Tories held.

eighties there was almost a resurgence and interest in Scottish culture that hadn't been around when I was a youngster" (Fraser).

In light of the perceived interest in traditional and folk music from a number of Celtic territories, the GRCH sought advice from other people in the entertainment industry to assess whether a series of concerts themed around 'Celtic' and/or 'Scottish' musics could be successful. The deciding moment apparently came after a conversation with BBC Radio Scotland which, in 1993, was restructuring its programme schedule to give traditional music a higher profile – further evidence perhaps of an increased interest in traditional and folk music in Scotland. Indeed, by chance, one of the new programmes that they planned to schedule was an evening broadcast called *Celtic Connections* (see also Symon 2002).

"...not one of us can say that the other has it first 'cos they sort of both came together so we don't quibble about it and erm... Iain Anderson was always going to take over the daytime slot and his remit was very much classical and Celtic [...]. Erm, so with promises from the BBC that they would help us market it and they have stayed very true to that, I mean they helped us I mean by recording and playing music throughout the year and trailblazing everything in the run up to it, erm we decided to bite the bullet" (Festival Co-ordinator, Celtic Connections).

So with support from the BBC the first Celtic Connections was unveiled in 1994 and has been run by the GRCH on an annual basis ever since.

Although I do not want to dwell too much on ideas of 'Celticness', as that is not the focus of my research, it is necessary to say something here about the links between 'Celticness' and 'Scottishness'. As stated earlier in this chapter 'Scottishness' is just one ethnic identity that makes up the broader term 'Celtic'; a complex and contested

term that lacks any kind of formal definition (Pittock 1999). Pittock (1999) suggests that 'Celtic' most commonly refers to an ethnic identity that people in a diverse range of territories (including Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Isle of Man, Brittany and Cornwall) claim to share. As I highlighted in chapter two the idea of Scotland as a Celtic society really came to the fore during the wave of Romantic nationalism that swept across Europe in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. After Scotland forged a political union with England in 1707 ideas of Celtic identity (in the form of Highlandism) were used in the construction of Scotland as a nation that was culturally distinctive from its southern ally.

Much has been written about the 'fictitious' revival of Scotland's Celtic past (see chapter two of this thesis, McCrone 1992 and Pittock 1999). However, as Pittock (1999) argues Scotland's Celtic past and its place in a wider group of Celtic societies, although much embellished during the Romantic period does have some factual basis. Indeed, as several commentators have stated, Scotland makes cultural connections with other 'Celtic' societies based on a number of shared histories and experiences. For example, Trevor-Roper (1983) suggests that before the late seventeenth century Highland Scotland had more in common, culturally, with Ireland than with lowland Scotland. In addition, Hechter (1975) argues that Ireland, Scotland and Wales have formulated distinctive 'Celtic fringe' characteristics that are based on their common experiences of (unequal) economic interaction with England. Finally, Chapman (1994) and Pittock (1999) argue that cultural connections are made between 'Celtic' territories on the grounds of their

commonality in either speaking – or having once spoken – a Celtic language, such as Gaelic or Breton.

Celtic Connections plays a significant role in (re)producing and reinforcing the view that Scotland is a ‘Celtic’ society with links to peoples in other ‘Celtic’ territories. Although the organisers of Celtic Connections may not have chosen a Celtic theme for their festival for explicitly political reasons, the very existence of a festival in Scotland called Celtic Connections connotes the idea that ‘Scottish’ ways of being are linked to ‘Celtic’ cultures. The impact that this ‘Celtic’ theme has on people’s experiences of ‘Scottishness’ is complex and uncertain for a number of reasons. As I will shortly explain in greater depth, the organisers at Celtic Connections do not stick rigidly to a ‘Celtic’ music programme and so the ‘Celtic’ theme is not always as obvious as it might be. But in addition, and perhaps most significantly, people’s recognition and understandings of ‘Celtic’ music are heterogeneous. So whilst for some people the ‘Celtic’ theme of Celtic Connections may be instrumental in their experiences of ‘Scottishness’, for others it may not be so influential.

Whilst it is impossible to make any simple statement about the ways in which Celtic Connections influences people’s experiences of ‘Scottishness’ what it is possible to say is that Celtic Connections *potentially* frames people’s experiences of ‘Scottishness’ by emphasising the links between ‘Scottishness’ and ‘Celtic’ cultures. This is the first of three ways in which I think the organisation of Celtic Connections might influence experiences of ‘Scottishness’. By promoting a ‘Celtic’ theme (no matter how loosely this may be adhered to) rather than, say, a multicultural theme

Celtic Connections potentially reinforces the notion that 'Scottishness' has links to 'Celtic' cultures. Audiences and musicians may reject this notion and, indeed, experience 'Scottishness' in the performances in quite different ways, but the festival context potentially highlights the notion that Scotland is culturally 'Celtic'. This is a difficult subject to explore empirically. On a number of occasions interviewees who attended Celtic Connections refer to 'Scottishness' in relation to 'Celticness' – in other words they discussed 'Scottishness' within a 'Celtic framework. But it is hard to know whether this is because of the influence of the festival setting or whether it reflects previously held ideas about 'Scottish' music.

For example, one respondent, Beth, went to hear Horse McDonald. She stated early on in the interview how she had been struck by the festival setting that the performance was held in. "I was aware when I was coming in [to the GRCH] that there was a lot of the Celtic Connections stuff around" (Beth). Here Beth is referring to various promotional posters and brochures that were displayed in and around the GRCH. As appendix six illustrates, Celtic Connections has a range of promotional material, all of which draw on images of 'traditional' and 'folk' instruments⁴³. Beth went to see Horse (who is a Scottish performer), as she had become curious about her music after reading about her in 'lesbian' magazines. Throughout the interview she described Horse's music in various ways but never as 'Scottish'. Given her interest in Horse as a lesbian artist this was not surprising but, as the following quotation demonstrates, I tried to find out whether she thought that there was anything 'Scottish' about Horse's music: -

NW “You mentioned that her [Horse’s] music was kind of rocky and ‘poppy’... Do you think that there’s anything Scottish about her music or...?”

R “It didn’t feel that way to me. No [...] I didn’t sort of get any strong Scottish thing at all or Celtic, no. I got that much more from the first band, yeah.”

NW “So what do you think made them sound more Scottish or...?”

R “Well they were more folky and I think they, they had more sort of, I dunno Celtic sort of hints in their music”. (Beth).

What interests me about this quote is the way in which (on two occasions) Beth uses the term Celtic to discuss and describe ‘Scottishness’. When I first ask her if there is anything ‘Scottish’ about Horse’s music she states that did not feel that it was ‘Scottish’ or Celtic. Here Beth might be talking about two different things, but when I ask her why Horse’s warm up band sounded ‘Scottish’ she explains that it was because they were more ‘folky’ and had a ‘Celtic’ sound to them. It is hard to say for certain whether this ‘Celtic framing’ of ‘Scottishness’ is a result of the festival context - and in particular Beth’s reading of the festival’s promotional material. But what is significant is whilst interviewees from Celtic Connections frequently used ‘Celtic’ to describe ‘Scottishness’ no one used this term when talking about ‘Scottishness’ at T in the Park. It seems possible then that the festival context potentially influences the ways in which people understand, think about and experience ‘Scottishness’ at Celtic Connections. The presence of promotional material which features ‘traditional’ and ‘folk’ instruments is one way in which this might occur however, at Celtic Connections there are other ways in which the festival provides a wider context to people’s performance experiences.

⁴³ Instruments featured in 2000’s promotional material were the accordion, bagpipes, guitar, and harp.

By the time of my study in 2000 Celtic Connections had grown in both status and size from its reasonably modest beginnings. Ticket sales had increased from 35 000 in 1994 to 83 000 in 2000 and the number of venues used had increased from three to twelve. But the range of attractions that Celtic Connections presented had also diversified. For example, in 2000 there were education and community arts programmes, a series of instrumental and vocal workshops and a programme of talks and debates on various aspects of 'Scottish' and 'Celtic' music, politics and culture which were put on in conjunction with The University of Strathclyde⁴⁴. These additional attractions might potentially influence some people's experiences of 'Scottishness' in musical performances by enhancing their awareness and understanding of 'Scottish' culture and cultural politics. Workshops on Gaelic song and debates on the nature of 'Scottish' identity might, for example, encourage participants to experience subsequent performances of 'Scottish' music in new and different ways. For example, Dougie went to a workshop on Gaelic song where he learnt about the history and form of Gaelic singing as he explains below: -

"I went to a workshop for Gaelic singing⁴⁵ [...]. We had the benefit of Ishbel MacAskil coming in as a guest and we learned a bit of the singing culture and how to perform Gaelic songs. We realised that there was a strict form of it to learn, to do it properly and do it well." (Dougie).

As I will demonstrate in greater detail chapter five Dougie learnt a great deal about the role of Gaelic song in Scottish culture at this workshop. In addition, as the

⁴⁴ This information was obtained both during an interview conducted with the festival Co-ordinator and from the Celtic Connections 2000 souvenir brochure.

quotation above suggests, he also gained a more in-depth insight into how Gaelic songs should sound and should be sung. So it does seem then that wider festival attractions such as workshops might affect the ways in which people frame their experience and understanding of 'Scottishness' in musical performances. However, whilst the broader festival context might affect the ways in which some people experience 'Scottishness' at Celtic Connections, what is perhaps more important is how the organisers select artists to perform.

2000 was the first year that Celtic Connections obtained major private sponsorship with Clerical Medical (CM), the English-based life assurance and pensions company pledging to donate £165 000 between 2000 and 2002⁴⁶. However, whilst CM are Celtic Connections' largest sponsor they place no demands on the organisation of the event. Indeed, the artists who perform at the festival are booked entirely at the GRCH's discretion. During my interview with the festival co-ordinator it became clear that the process of deciding which artists to include in the festival was highly subjective and instinctive⁴⁷. Some artists requested to be involved whilst others were invited, but ultimately artists were booked because "we [employees of the Arts Office, GRCH] see them or hear them and we like what they're doing" (Festival Co-ordinator, Celtic Connections).

⁴⁵ The workshop was entitled Scots Gaelic song with Chrissie Stewart and was held at the GRCH on 22/01/00.

⁴⁶ Although Clerical Medical are the main sponsors for the 2000 festival there are several other companies that donate either money, goods or services to the event. These include Glasgow City Council, The Scottish Arts Council, ScotRail, Bank of Scotland, Glasgow's Millennium, Lateral Line – Glasgow, Icelandair, Tennent Caledonian Breweries, Highland Spring, Irn-Bru, Arnold Clark Car and Van Hire and Auchentoshan Whisky.

⁴⁷ Subsequent interviews with musicians revealed that this is common practice in festival organisation.

Although there was an obvious desire to produce a themed series of concerts around some idea of 'Celticness' there was never a sense from the festival's co-ordinator or its promotional material that the programme was dominated by some rigid definition of the term. Indeed, as the freelance journalist and critic Kenny Mathieson argues in the festival's souvenir brochure, stylistically there is no such thing as 'Celtic' music as the music that is often labelled in this way reveals "not a single entity, but a diverse layering of musical styles" (2000: 11). As he goes on to state: -

"The traditional music of the core Celtic territories – Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Brittany, Galicia/Spain, Cape Breton (not to forget Cornwall) – and the Celtic diaspora in the USA and elsewhere survives in a now bewilderingly rich layering of mix-and-match variants, from the purist preservationists through to all manner of exotic fusions with jazz, rock and the ethnic musics of Europe, Asia and Africa" (Mathieson, 2000: 11).

Celtic Connections does not set out to prescribe a particular idea of what 'Celtic' music is or, within that broad term, what 'Scottish', 'Irish' or 'Breton' music might be. Although, in practice, the Arts Office of the GRCH do act as gatekeepers by subjectively selecting artists to perform at the festival. This undoubtedly influences the kinds of 'Celtic' and 'Scottish' music that are showcased.

In 2000 the festival presented a wide variety of music from a range of 'Celtic' territories including Brittany (France), Cape Breton Island (Canada), England, Ireland, various areas of Scotland, Galicia and Asturias (Spain), Sweden and the USA⁴⁸. As the quotations below illustrate, some respondents that I interviewed were

⁴⁸ Information collected from the Celtic Connections souvenir brochure 2000.

unsure about the festival's 'Celtic' connections for two interrelated reasons. Firstly the Celtic character of some of the performances were called into question and, secondly, the range of performers playing at Celtic Connections was sometimes thought to be so broad that the festival lost any kind of thematic meaning.

Tenuous nature of 'Celtic' connections	
Uncertainty about the 'Celticness' of Celtic Connections	"Yeah I mean one thing about Celtic Connections is that I sometimes wonder about the erm Celticness of some things. I mean it's a tenuous kind of link in some cases" (Tony).
Celticness is located in the style of music not the cultural heritage of the person performing it	"...[Celtic Connections] is not presenting itself as a narrow genre or whatever you wanna call it, it's eclectic, well that's why the word connection's there, but I mean some of the stuff that's there [...] ...there's a guy, a Scottish guy [...] I can't remember the guy's name, but he's a blues man, he sings with an American accent and, you know, he shouldn't be there in my opinion, it's nothing to do with Celtic Connections" (Fraser).
Uncertainty over what Celtic Connections stands for	[<i>In response to previous comment...</i>] NW "So I mean what do you think Celtic Connections is standing for, and what do you think should it stand for?" [...] R "I don't think sometimes I'm very sure what they're trying to make it stand for. I think they're trying to make it too wide and trying to make it a, what is it, a commercial success" (Andy).

As these quotations demonstrate the 'Celtic' focus of Celtic Connections was sometimes regarded as tenuous. Both Tony and Fraser highlighted this point. What is interesting about Fraser's comments though is that it does not matter whether the artist is Scottish (and therefore ethnically connected to a Celtic heritage) rather it is the style of music that the artist plays that is the measure of whether they should be included in the festival. Fraser states that Celtic Connections is trying to present a broad range of 'Celtic' music, which he seems to suggest is a positive goal for the festival to aim for. However, he goes on to suggest that some styles of music, such as the blues have no place in Scotland's connections to Celtic culture. In contrast,

where Fraser could see that Celtic Connections presents an albeit eclectic mix of music that links to 'Celtic' culture, Andy is not sure what musical theme Celtic Connections is trying to achieve. He interprets the wide array of performers that play at Celtic Connections as the product of a desire to make the festival a commercial success. In other words, he implies that economic motivations sometimes overshadow thematic or aesthetic considerations.

In an interview with the festival co-ordinator I pointed out that a number of respondents were sometimes unsure about the 'Celticness' of some of the performances and I asked him how he chose which artists to include in the festival's programme. He said...

"I mean there's a lot of people who are very precious about what Celtic Connections should showcase and I'm certainly not precious about that. I think we are a music festival and we're... We are at heart a traditional folk Celtic music festival but to be perfectly honest we are a music festival and we're there to present music and our only criteria I've said time and time again is that it's just got to be good" (Festival Co-ordinator, Celtic Connections).

For me, this is a revealing quote as it signals some significant contradictions in his (and his team's) motivations for organising Celtic Connections. On the one hand the festival co-ordinator states (albeit vaguely) that the festival is a "traditional, folk, Celtic" music festival, but on the other hand he suggests that any music could be included in the programme as long as it was good. To me, this signals that economic considerations do sometimes outweigh the thematic integrity of the event⁴⁹.

⁴⁹ This approach to organising Celtic Connections contrasts with those of the organisers of similar events in other countries. See, for example, Thedens (2001) who outlines how some Norwegian

The desire of the GRCH Arts Office to create a 'Celtic' music festival was also questioned in some of my interviews with ('Scottish') performers. As the quotes below demonstrate, the organisers' rely on personal networks and connections with artists when booking acts. For some artists this meant that they were invited even though their music might not obviously fit the 'Celtic' genre, whilst other (suitable) acts, who did not have the necessary connections, were effectively 'locked out' of participating.

Booking acts relies partly on personal networks and connections	
Invited to perform even though music is not an 'obvious' choice for Celtic Connections	"...well it was basically [the festival Co-ordinator] just phoned and asked me. He'd been a fan, if you could call it that, for a while and um liked my music and asked me to do it. And when he first asked me to do it I thought "ooh I don't know about that. Celtic Connections?" because there's a preconceived notion that it's woolly sweaters, em hoochter teuchter ⁵⁰ [...] I was asked in several interviews you know, "why do you think you fit into Celtic Connections?" and my answer was always well why not? 'Cos my traditional music is pop music [...]. Yeah that's the bottom line really, that my tradition is pop music and I'm creating pop music and I am Scottish, so..." (Horse).
Not a member of the 'elite clique'	"I've never been asked for Celtic Connections 'cos it's, it's really a... sort of clique. You know you've got to be in the elite clique before you get in there. And they seem to favour bands from Edinburgh, the more sort of folky bands" (Jimmy).
Not invited to Celtic Connections because they don't have the connections. They play at a 'rival' festival though.	R3 "We're not in with the right people" [...] R1 "It's not just us, it's that loads of bands that should be playin' at Celtic Connections, but they're just not been given the opportunity." [...] R2 "If you look at the Lorient festival in France and the bands including ourselves who have gone out on one, two occasions and had excellent responses out there, and they're not getting the chance to play in their own backyard, and you have to say well what's that? What's going on?" (R1 Alex, R2 Clive, R3 Emma).

traditional folk music festivals are organised around the explicit aim of promoting Norwegian traditional music.

⁵⁰ 'Hoochter teuchter' is a phrase that refers to a cultural stereotype of a Highlander. Hoochter is commonly thought to come from the sound that people shout at certain points in highland dances. Teuchter, however, is a Scots word that is a "(sometimes disparaging) reference to anyone from the North, to a Highlander or Gaelic speaker" (Kynoch, 1996).

Horse, who describes herself as a ‘pop’ artist, makes a good, although not thoroughly convincing, account of why she should be included in Celtic Connections but, for me, her musical style does not sit comfortably with the “traditional, folk, Celtic” remit of Celtic Connections that the festival Co-ordinator describes on page 123⁵⁰. The fact that her involvement has been questioned in several interviews also raises more general queries over her inclusion in the programme. Unlike the musicians in the other two quotes though, who belong to dance bands that play ‘traditional’ ‘Scottish’ and ‘Irish’ tunes, Horse had connections with a member of the GRCH Arts Office⁵¹. There is little evidence, in my research at least, to support Jimmy’s claims that the organisers of Celtic Connections favour Edinburgh bands over their Glaswegian counterparts. However, these quotations do seem to highlight the significance of personal connections in getting a gig at Celtic Connections. Jimmy described himself as being outside the elite clique and Alex *et al*’s band had never been asked to play despite having a relatively high profile on the Glasgow music scene⁵² and playing at the *Festival Interceltique de Lorient*, one of Celtic Connections’ ‘rival’ festivals.

As this discussion illustrates there is nothing straightforward about the ways in which Celtic Connections invites performers to play at the festival. Whilst some performers might be understood to fit into the “traditional, folk, Celtic” genre that the festival Co-Ordinator describes others do not seem to fit this bill quite so easily. However,

⁵¹ These musicians were interviewed because of their participation at T in the Park.

⁵² They frequently gig in the Glasgow area and had been showcased at Glasgow’s Hogmanay celebrations.

what is significant here is that Celtic Connections potentially sets the scene for some interesting and diverse experiences of 'Scottishness' by inviting such a broad and varied range of artists. For me this presents an ideal opportunity for studying 'Scottishness' as there is a relatively wide range of performances that might, potentially, be experienced as being 'Scottish'. It is not just inviting performers that Celtic Connections sets the scene for experiences of 'Scottishness'. The Arts Office of the GRCH also plays a significant role in providing venues for the artists to perform in. Indeed, during my interview with the festival co-ordinator it became apparent that providing performers with the 'right' venue to perform in was a key concern.

- NW "...it seems like you spend a lot of time in actually trying to balance artists with venues and I know that you mentioned about filling the concert hall..."
- R "Yeah I think that's the most important thing because there's no, there's... if you can get the balance of the music, the performer and the space right the audience is gonna have... it's gonna be much easier for the audience to come in and enjoy themselves. If they come in and the space is just not right, or if you're in a big hall and you're talking about a small acoustic trio the audience is gonna feel very self conscious and the musicians are not going to be happy..." (Festival Co-ordinator, Celtic Connections).

The festival co-ordinator suggests here that placing artists in the correct kind of venue is crucial for the success of a performance. If performers are playing in the 'wrong' kind of physical space then the co-ordinator argues that the audience will not feel comfortable and the musicians will be unhappy. Creating a 'Celtic' festival and inviting particular artists to perform both potentially influences the kinds of 'Scottishness' that are performed at the festival and the ways in which people frame

their experience of 'Scottishness'. The placement of artists in 'suitable' venues does not impact on experiences of 'Scottishness' in these kinds of ways, rather it influences people's emotional experiences of the performances *per se*. Building on this statement I argue that the festival co-ordinator and his team potentially create the conditions in which performers and audiences can experience emotionally heightened social relations by placing performers in physical spaces that they think will complement performers' musical styles. As the festival co-ordinator's comments above suggest, if he and his team put artists in the 'wrong' venues then it acts as a barrier to audiences' and musicians' enjoyment of and engagement with musical performances. It is for this reason that Celtic Connections uses a relatively wide variety of venues⁵³. These include a formal concert hall, a former fruit market, a ballroom and a cathedral. Whether, on the night, performances will be successful and enjoyable cannot be predicted or entirely set up in advance by placing performers in suitable venues. As I will discuss in chapter six the ways in which venues affect the success of a performance depends very much on performers' abilities to work with or overcome the physical settings in which they play. However, in situations where performers cannot overcome the physical settings they are working in venues can make or break the success of a performance. This idea will be explored further in chapter six.

In this section I have argued that the organisation of Celtic Connections potentially influences people's experiences of musical performances and 'Scottishness' for three interrelated reasons. Firstly, the 'Celtic context' potentially influences the ways in

⁵³ This range is partially illustrated in appendix one.

which people frame their experiences of musical performances. The broader context of Celtic Connections reifies the idea that Scotland is a 'Celtic' society and that 'Scottishness' might somehow be linked to 'traditional', 'folk' and 'Celtic' influences; it gives a sense of where the performances 'come from'. Secondly, Celtic Connections 'sets the scene' by inviting certain artists to perform. Although the festival organisers do not stick rigidly to any pre-defined notion of 'Celtic' or, within that 'Scottish' music, it implicitly influences the ways in which people experience 'Scottishness' by including and excluding certain artists within the festival's programme. This selection process ultimately limits what might be understood to be 'Scottish' music in my study. Finally, the organisers of Celtic Connections set the scene for people's emotional experiences of 'Scottishness' by arranging for certain artists to perform in specific venues. In attempting to place performers in suitable performance spaces the Arts Office of the GRCH potentially creates the conditions in which emotionally heightened social relations can be forged through musical performances.

The organisers of Celtic Connections created a festival loosely based around a 'traditional', 'folk' and 'Celtic' theme to encourage a younger age group into the GRCH and create some revenue in one of their quietest times of the year. T in the Park though, as I will demonstrate in the following section is quite a different kind of festival to Celtic Connections.

4.3 Festival Contexts: T in the Park

T in the Park is a weekend long, outdoor, summer music festival that takes place every July and which is part of a growing British and European summer festival circuit. In 2000 many of the musicians that performed at T in the Park also played at comparative events such as Glastonbury, the V2000 events in Chelmsford and Weston Park (Staffordshire), and the Witness Festival in Dublin (see appendix seven).

There are two main differences between T in the Park and Celtic Connections. First, as I stated earlier T in the Park is an outdoor festival, which takes place in a former airbase in Balado, near Kinross⁵⁴. The festival is a completely ‘temporary’⁵⁵ affair with all of the facilities and stage structures being brought in especially for the event.

See figure 4.2, overleaf.

⁵⁴ Kinross is a small town approximately 20 miles Northwest of Edinburgh. The location of the festival is relatively remote and so there are organised bus services from Edinburgh, Perth and Glasgow that run especially during the event.

⁵⁵ In a sense the physical structures of many performance spaces are temporary as seating arrangements and stage set-ups can be altered to suite the needs of each performance. However, what is slightly more unusual about T in the Park is that the physical structures of the performance spaces are created from scratch by the organisers.



Figure 4.2 Main Stage, T in the Park. Source: Photograph taken by the author.

It is not just the 'temporary' nature of the performance spaces that differentiates T in the Park from Celtic Connections. The second major difference is that the audience does not pay to attend individual performances, rather they pay to gain entry into the festival compound either for the day or the weekend. For those who wish to attend the full weekend there are camping facilities that people can pay to use. Once inside the festival arena audience members will find a variety of performance spaces that 'specialise' in various kinds of music. Festival goers are free to wander around these venues at all times, so there is often a movement of people between the various performance areas as bands are playing. This freedom of movement is usually restricted in more formal concert settings (such as those encountered at Celtic Connections) where audience members are expected to attend full performances.

Like Celtic Connections, T in the Park offers performers a number of different performance spaces⁵⁶. However, due to the temporary nature of the festival compound the variety of performance 'venues' tends to be limited to one outside stage (main stage) and six marquees of varying sizes. These include the Ceilidh Tent (featuring 'local' 'traditional' style dance bands), the Slam tent (featuring DJs and Dance acts), and King Tut's Wah Wah Tent (featuring up and coming British acts).

In addition to performance spaces the festival compound also contained covered areas that were used for a range of other activities. For example, fundraising was carried out by charities like Oxfam and the Scottish Association for Mental Health and public education programmes were run by groups such as a locally-based AIDS awareness project. There were also a range of food and drinks outlets (including a tent that sold, of course, Tennent's beer) a fun-fair, body piercing tents and stalls selling a range of goods including T in the Park merchandise, 'ethnic' clothing, and novelty hats such as kitsch inflatable Stetsons and 'fuzzy' top hats with saltires on them.

T in the Park was conceptualised in 1994 by the Scottish-based company DF Concerts. In an informally constructed questionnaire⁵⁷ that one of the festival's co-ordinators filled in⁵⁸ he stated that T in the Park was first organised because DF concerts wanted to create a festival for Scotland that was purely under their own

⁵⁶ Appendix one partially demonstrates this.

⁵⁷ See appendix three.

⁵⁸ No one from DF Concerts was willing to be interviewed however, one of the festival co-ordinators did kindly agree to answer some written questions as long as I faxed them to him ASAP. This

control. They had seen other British-based rock/pop festivals do well in the 1970s and 1980s and recognised that there was a gap in the market, which they could potentially fill, as there was no comparable festival in Scotland. The challenge of organising such a large scale music festival and the potential long term financial rewards of establishing such an event appealed to DF Concerts who had developed during the 1980s into one of Britain's leading concert promoters.

Under the watchful eye of its front man, Stuart Clumpas, DF Concerts approached the Scottish-based brewery Tennent's, that had been supporting the Scottish live music scene since the late 1980s to see if they would be interested in sponsoring a multi-stage music festival. As it happened, Tennent's had wanted to sponsor a large scale music event for some time and, after initial talks, both DF Concerts and Tennent's discovered that they had similar agendas in terms of how they wanted the festival to be organised and run. So, in 1994 the first T in the Park (run by DF concerts and sponsored by Tennent's) was put on at Strathclyde Park, Hamilton, attracting 20 000 festival goers on each day (approximately 2000 of whom camped)⁵⁹.

By the time of my study in 2000, T in the Park had moved from Strathclyde Park to Balado and had grown in both size and status. In 2000, 45 000 people attended each day of the festival with approximately 20 000 camping over the weekend period. The increased size of T in the Park (which is now commonly recognised as

resulted in the construction of a hastily written informal questionnaire, which he answered in due course.

⁵⁹ Information acquired from the questionnaire filled in by one of T in the Park's co-ordinators.

Scotland's largest music event) was also matched with increased media interest in the event. The festival attracted column inches from the Scottish press (especially the Scottish edition of the Sunday Times and Scotland on Sunday), and the British music press. For example, New Musical Express produced a pull out guide to the festival and T in the Park is featured in Q's annual summer festival build-up. In addition, Scottish radio stations such as Beat 106 broadcast some of the performances, and the television station BBC One (Scotland) carried out comprehensive coverage of the festival on both evenings that the event was running and continued to broadcast performances in subsequent weeks.

As I mentioned earlier in my discussion of T in the Park, many of the artists who attend the event also perform at other festivals on the summer festival 'circuit'. In order to distinguish the event from the other (mainly English-based) events DF Concerts consciously tries to promote T in the Park as being different from the other festivals because of its Scottish context. Indeed, Stuart Clumpas, the front man of DF Concerts describes T in the Park as a "uniquely Scottish event" in the festival's promotional literature (Clumpas, 1999: 3). Indeed, in the questionnaire that one of T in the Park's co-ordinators filled in, it came to light that the promotion of T in the Park as a 'Scottish' event was done consciously as a selling point of the festival to both agents and bands. In addition, the festival co-ordinator also explains that they used the idea that "Scottish crowds [were the] best and most responsive in the world"

and that the “reception [was] always warm and welcoming”⁶⁰ to try and attract performers to attend the festival.

So, T in the Park consciously draws on ideas of ‘Scottishness’ to sell the festival to bands and festival goers⁶¹. It might seem then that, like Celtic Connections, T in the Park is creating a conceptual framework through which the festival and ideas of ‘Scottishness’ will be understood and experienced. However, the ways in which DF Concerts tries to create a Scottish festival are both subtle and complex. One of the questions that I put to the organisers of T in the Park in the questionnaire that I sent to them asked whether it was DF Concerts’ intention to make the festival Scottish and, if so, how did they try and do this. The response was that they “just do what we do well” perhaps implying that because it was a Scottish company that was in sole control then maybe T in the Park would, somehow, be inherently ‘Scottish’. He then went on to identify a number of more obvious strategies that they use which might make the festival ‘Scottish’. These include using Scottish contractors and Scottish staff where possible, having a ceilidh tent “with Scottish traditional/modern traditional music” and a talent tent for unsigned Scottish bands.

So it appears that DF Concerts do try and introduce some elements that they think will be uniquely ‘Scottish’ to T in the Park and that this will, in part, differentiate it from the other summer festivals. However, T in the Park in their promotional adverts make no reference to the ceilidh tent, the unsigned tent or the acts that appear inside them (see appendix six). Instead they concentrate on advertising the big-name

⁶⁰ Quotes from questionnaire response.

acts that are attending and less well known, up and coming acts that are tipped in the music press to be the 'next big things'. In other words, they advertise those bands that are part of the summer festival circuit, so they are not using the majority of Scottish bands that do appear at T in the Park as an attraction to encourage people to attend the event. They do not use those performers that, in part, make their festival 'unique' as a primary attraction.

Perhaps one of the main reasons why the majority of Scottish bands that perform at T in the Park are not given a higher promotional profile is because this is not what audiences are demanding. According to one of the co-ordinators at T in the Park decisions about who to invite to perform at the festival are based upon availability and perceived popularity. The latter is determined by audience surveys that DF Concerts carry out at their other events throughout the year at Scottish based venues such as the SECC and the Barrowlands⁶². The result of this selection process is that the vast majority of bands and artists who perform on the main stages are (internationally renowned) 'mainstream' rock and pop artists who come from a number of countries including Canada, England, Ireland and the U.S.⁶³. These are usually bands that are enjoying international chart success around the time of the festival. 'Scottish' artists, such as Idlewild and Travis, are in a minority on the larger

⁶¹ This idea will be explored in more detail in chapters six and seven.

⁶² Both the SECC (Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre) and the Barrowlands are Glasgow based performance venues.

⁶³ Information from the NME T in the Park Guide 2000.

stages and, instead, 'Scottish' performers tend to feature predominantly in the more peripheral 'unsigned' and ceilidh tents that receive little publicity⁶⁴.

The process of choosing which bands and artists to invite in 2000, as with Celtic Connections, seemed to depend not only on availability and popularity as DF Concerts stated, but also on formal and informal networks and connections. This was highlighted in interviews with musicians as the following quotations, illustrate: -

Industry politics and contacts influence who plays at T in the Park	
Participation at T in the Park is partially gained through informal contacts	<p>NW I mean most people who get involved with T in the Park, do they all kinda have connections with record companies and the organisers or...?</p> <p>R1 There is this link I think... Er... oh we didn't when we started the first you would get them coming down but...'</p> <p>R3 Er... word of mouth isn't it?</p> <p>R2 Yes.</p> <p>R3 If you've got a friend in a band who's at T in the Park then they can say OK give them a phone, you know... (R1: Alex, R2: Clive and R3: Emma).</p>
Invitations to perform sometimes depend on your contacts in the music industry	<p>"...how many Scottish artists are there? I think it's... a lot of politics go on amongst... I mean I would never get asked to do T in the Park because the promoter that I used to be with was Regular, and they're the one's who are doing the Oasis one in direct competition⁶⁵. But Stuart Clumpas would never book me because I've been on the other side of the fence, which is absurd. As you say it's a Scottish festival, using the best talents." (Horse)</p>

As with Celtic Connections it appears that the process of inviting bands to play at T in the Park is partially dependent on informal networks of communication.

⁶⁴ The unsigned tent is a product of a talent competition that is organised in conjunction with local radio stations and the ceilidh tent is, according to Jimmy, (one of the musicians that I interviewed that played on this stage) the brainchild of the Chairman of Tennent's who is a fan of 'traditional' 'Scottish' music.

⁶⁵ This refers to the Gig on the Green held in Glasgow, which is a more recently established 'rival' event that takes place in August. In 2000 there was a great deal of media interest in the fact that T in the Park's newer and smaller rival had 'bagged' chart toppers Oasis. The media played an important

However, in contrast to Celtic Connections there seem to be a more obvious politics to inviting artists to perform that is based on connections between DF Concerts and various agents and promotional bodies. This kind of influence may be present at Celtic Connections – the example of Alex *et al*'s band playing at the *Festival Interceltique de Lorient* but not at Celtic Connections might be significant here – but it was not raised in any of the interviews that I carried out. The significance of this discussion for my work is that the organisers of T in the Park do not appear to organise their festival around notions of 'Scottishness' *per se*. They use 'Scottishness' as a marketing tool however, when it comes to the music that is performed other considerations such as audience demand and industry connections are more influential in determining who will perform.

I was initially interested in this seeming contradiction that T in the Park was established through various means as a 'Scottish' event, yet the majority of performers were not Scottish. Moreover, those that were 'Scottish' tended to be 'side-lined' in more peripheral positions in the festival arena⁶⁶ and were not promoted in T in the Park's advertising campaigns. During my interviews with festival-goers none of them mentioned the fact that there were not many Scottish bands there. In response to this I asked a number of respondents questions about

role in highlighting and hyping up the rivalry between the two events. See for example McVeigh (2000).

⁶⁶ From information that I gained on the 78 performers who played on the Main Stage, Stage Two, King Tut's Wah Wah Tent, the Slam Tent and the Celilidh Tent, only 12 of them (15%) were 'Scottish' acts. In this context a 'Scottish' act is one that is promoted as being from Scotland. Information could not be gained on the performers in the other two performance spaces (the Café Club and Scottish Radio/PRS 'Unsigned' Stage) as these performers are less well known. However, even if all 46 of the acts that played on these two smaller tents were Scottish (which is unlikely) only 47% of the total number of performers at T in the Park would be 'Scottish', 79% of which would be confined to performing on two, smaller and more 'peripheral' stages.

whether they expected there to be more Scottish acts at T in the Park and also if they would like to see more Scottish acts attending. The majority of people thought that the line up was great and that they had not come expecting to see Scottish bands – the purpose of the festival for them was not to promote Scottish music or ‘Scottishness’ in any way. Indeed, they expected (and wanted) to see all of the successful international acts that were performing there. However, there were a few people who thought that it would be good to have a greater ‘Scottish’ presence in the line-up.

Thoughts on lack of Scottish bands at T in the Park	
T in the Park is not there for promoting Scottish music.	NW “Were you surprised that there weren’t more Scottish bands there? Or that it wasn’t kinda more focused towards promoting Scottish music in some ways?” R “No, no I wasn’t at all because I thought that’s not what it was there for was it, it was a genuine sort of music festival for the pop scene really, wasn’t it really?” (Siobhan).
It’s a commercial enterprise.	R “I mean there’s the ceilidh tent, but that’s by no means guaranteed to promote Scottish bands [...] I think it’s... it’s quite a commercial enterprise T in the Park. They try and get the big name bands to get punters in... and then... it’s not really so much side-line stuff”. (Jane).
There’s not that much new Scottish music around just now.	NW “Do you think that it’s a bit of a shame that there aren’t more Scottish bands playing?” R “Not really. It would have been nice to see more Scottish acts on er... but you know, I know one of the bands that’s playing tonight er... tomorrow night, sorry. They’re playing in the [unsigned] tent, so I’m going to go along and see them. I like, I quite like the look of the line up. So... I mean there’s not that much Scottish, new Scottish music around just now anyway...” (Tcomm3).

As these quotations demonstrate there was not a great sense of disappointment in the fact that ‘Scottish’ bands did not play a predominant role at T in the Park. Nobody seemed to expect this to be the case as they understood the festival to be a mainstream commercial venture rather than an event that would explicitly promote

‘Scottish’ music. What is interesting here is that a number of respondents suggested that the scarcity of ‘Scottish’ artists at T in the Park might be explained by the fact that there is not much ‘Scottish’ rock and pop music around (*cf.* Tcomm3) and that ‘Scottish’ music is a ‘side-line’ interest that does not attract large audiences. These comments suggest that ‘Scottish’ rock and pop occupies a marginalised position in the music industry, but no one suggested that this situation required any kind of remedy. Indeed, the point of the festival for many of the respondents that I interviewed was that T in the Park brought successful international bands to play in Scotland. T in the Park obtained its ‘Scottishness’, in part, through its Scottish setting.

From the discussion that I have just outlined regarding the organisational context of T in the Park I have hopefully demonstrated the complex and subtle ways in which T in the Park sets the scene for experiences of ‘Scottishness’. Unlike Celtic Connections, the organisers of T in the Park promote their event as being “uniquely Scottish” and yet, on the surface, any obvious connections to ideas of ‘Scottishness’ seemed to be limited. This is because the majority of performers were not ‘Scottish’ and those that were tended to be showcased in smaller, peripheral venues and their ‘Scottishness’ was not emphasised. This contrasts with Celtic Connections where a number of performances were explicitly promoted as being ‘Scottish’. Therefore if T in the Park is Scottish, as its promoters would have us believe, then it seems that the ways in which it is being ‘Scottish’ is potentially different to the ways in which Celtic Connections might be ‘Scottish’. Both sets of festival organisers ‘set the scene’ whether it is consciously or not, for potential expressions and experiences of

'Scottishness'. But what exactly is 'Scottishness', how (and why) might people experience it at the two festivals?

These questions will be explored in greater depth in the remaining chapters of this thesis. However, before entering into an in-depth discussion on the nature and role of emotional experiences of 'Scottishness' I want to set up this debate by outlining the ways in which the two festivals offer contrasting, yet complimentary occasions for experiencing (and studying) 'Scottishness'.

4.4 Heterogeneous experiences of 'Scottishness'

Looking back over interview transcripts, performance notes and field notes from each of the events there are some clear differences in my interactions with audience members at the two festivals. In addition, there are a number of distinctions in both the ways in which people articulate ideas and feelings of 'Scottishness' at Celtic Connections and T in the Park. These distinctions seem to arise out of the different social (or festival) contexts in which performances were held at the two events. This is a significant point because recognising the heterogeneous nature of 'Scottishness' challenges the presumptions of homogeneity on which concepts of nation tend to be unquestionably founded.

As I stated earlier Celtic Connections and T in the Park are quite different events. I originally chose these two festivals because I thought that they might offer an interesting contrast in the ways in which people experience 'Scottishness' through

musical performances. However, even given this set of presumptions I was surprised at how different it was to carry out research on 'Scottishness' at these two festivals.

When I was preparing to carry out research at the first event that I attended - Celtic Connections - I decided that although I would be explicit about my identity as a researcher and about the nature of the study (PhD research that was studying musical performances in two festivals in Scotland), I did not want to force the 'Scottish' dimension of my research during the interviews. I wanted to see to what extent people experienced any of the performances at Celtic Connections as being 'Scottish' without me influencing their conceptual framing of the concerts any more than was absolutely necessary⁶⁷. I asked people fairly broad questions about their experience of the event (why they had attended the concert, whether they had enjoyed it, what it felt like to be in the concert). If people articulated ideas of 'Scottishness' in their answers then I followed this up by asking questions that were directed more closely to their emotional experiences of 'Scottishness'. However, I did not ask people explicitly if they had felt the concert was 'Scottish' in any way.

After the first couple of 'on-the-spot' interviews at Celtic Connections I was convinced that this was an appropriate course of action to take for two reasons. Firstly, because as the quotes in later chapters illustrate some respondents did allude to notions of 'Scottishness' in their interviews without me prompting them. Secondly, I realised very early on that in the context of short on-the-spot interviews, asking people more explicitly about their feelings of 'Scottishness' in such a

forthright way might distance me from those that I was interviewing. Many of the audience members that I interviewed clearly had quite complex and nuanced understandings of performances and I thought that asking the kind of blunt and basic questions that are necessary in such short interviews would be interpreted as clumsy and inappropriate on my part. My early experiences of some of the concerts made it clear that for me, as a researcher who was explicitly looking for notions of ‘Scottishness’ at these events, there were lots of different ways in which ‘Scottishness’ was being expressed in musical performances. As I argue in chapter five, some notions of ‘Scottishness’ were expressed in implicit and subtle ways through recognising the use of certain languages and accents, drawing on ‘Scottish’ musical idioms and playing ‘Scottish’ instruments. However, and this also probably says a lot about my position as an Englishwoman interviewing Scots about ‘Scottishness’, I did not want to presume that Scots would automatically interpret or frame these performances as being explicitly ‘Scottish’. So, in this context, on-the-spot interviews were useful for talking generally about experiences of performances, but were less appropriate for tapping into issues of ‘Scottishness’ due to the pressures of time⁶⁷. In-depth interviews were far more successful in this respect as they gave me the time to establish a rapport with respondents, which encouraged them to talk more fully about their experiences of ‘Scottishness’ in ways that allowed them to engage with the complexities of these ideas.

⁶⁷ Necessary in both an ethical and practical sense.

⁶⁸ Respondents were usually pressed for time in these interviews as they had other activities that they wanted to perform during the interval and at the end of concerts such as talking with friends, hurrying to catch trains and so forth.

In contrast, my experience of interviewing at T in the Park differed for three reasons. Firstly, this was because ‘Scottishness’ at T in the Park was, at a superficial level at least, far more explicit than at Celtic Connections. In part this was because there were far more visual symbols of ‘Scottishness’ in the performance spaces than at Celtic Connections. Unlike any of the concerts that I attended at Celtic Connections some audience members had taken various Scottish flags and scarves with them and there were also a few men who wore kilts. In addition, the stage in the ceilidh tent was decked out in ‘Scottish’ imagery such as saltires and stylised pictures of Burns (see figures 4.3 and 4.4 overleaf). None of the performance spaces that I visited at Celtic Connections were ‘dressed’ in such an obviously ‘Scottish’ way, although in the Main Auditorium of the GRCH the Celtic Connections logo was displayed as part of the stage’s backdrop⁶⁹. This is significant because Celtic Connections was ‘Scottish’ in its staging (by the music that was performed), but T in the Park was made ‘Scottish’ by its audience and obvious symbolic representations of ‘Scottishness’. At Celtic Connections ‘Scottishness’ is, in many ways, taken for granted whereas at T in the Park it had to be made more consciously.

⁶⁹ As stated earlier the Celtic Connections logo contains images of ‘traditional’ instruments, but these could be interpreted as ‘Celtic’ rather than ‘Scottish’ images.



Fig. 4.3 Scottish flag being waved at one of the Main Stage's evening performances at T in the Park.
Source: Photograph taken by the author

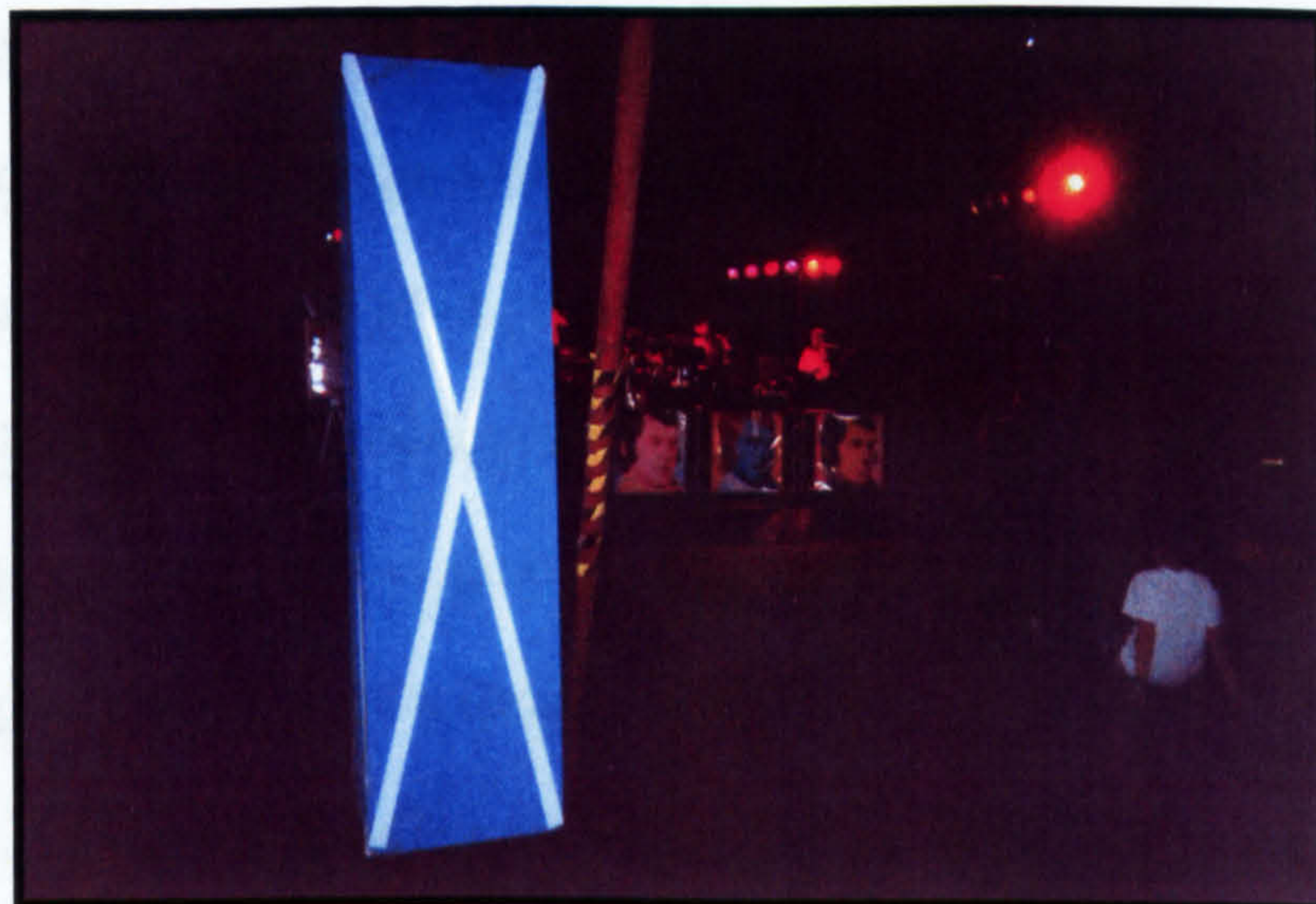


Fig. 4.4 Stage in the Ceilidh tent decked out in symbolic representations of 'Scottishness'.
Source: Photograph taken by the author

The second reason why T in the Park produced a different interviewing experience is that 'Scottishness' was emphasised by performers in more explicit ways than at Celtic Connections. As I explained earlier, the majority of bands who performed at T in the Park were from outside Scotland. However, a number of performers that I saw discussed notions of 'Scotland' and 'Scottishness' during their performance in

order to make connections to, and engage with the audience. For example, some performers, like Coldplay told audiences how they thought ‘Scottish’ audiences were the best and Macy Gray stated, to roars of agreement from the audience, that Scots must really love their rock and roll to stand in the rain all day⁷⁰. One respondent, Jane, also noticed this strategy whilst she was at T in the Park and commented during a discussion of the different performance practices employed by ‘Scottish’ and ‘non-Scottish’ artists that ‘non-Scottish’ bands often talked about Scotland during their performances. She said: -

“I think it’s when bands who aren’t Scottish come to Scotland, they have to... it almost seems that they have to make a comment about, not all of them, but... I’m a big fan of Julian Cope and he talks to his audience a lot when he’s not singing and he’s particularly interested about Scotland and will go on at great length about how fantastic it is...” (Jane).

I had been reticent to ask people about notions of ‘Scottishness’ at Celtic Connections, because I did not want to inappropriately push my ‘agenda’ or appear to misunderstand the complexities and subtleties of ‘Scottishness’. However, the fact that ‘Scottishness’ was more explicitly expressed and discussed at T in the Park made it more appropriate (and easier) for me to ask people direct questions about whether they considered T in the Park to be ‘Scottish’ and if people felt more ‘Scottish’ in any of the performances than they usually do. This is because I could use examples of flags and performers’ comments as a route to talk about ideas and experiences of ‘Scottishness’ more directly.

⁷⁰ Comment taken from fieldnotes.

Thirdly, my experience of interviewing at T in the Park differed because people, in general, tended to be more open and enthusiastic in talking about their experiences of performances. There is no obvious reason for why this was the case. Perhaps it was something to do with the fact that people had more time to talk to me, as they were there for at least a full day. People's schedules were also less structured and there was plenty of opportunity to talk to people at the end of performances when they milled around waiting for the next act to come on stage. Whatever the reason, people seemed to open up relatively easily and so the on-the-spot interviews were really effective in capturing some of the emotions that people were experiencing during the event.

I explain all this, in part, to add some methodological context to the material that I will be drawing on in the remaining chapters of this thesis. In many ways both people's experiences and articulations of 'Scottishness' vary quite widely between the two festivals (as will be evidenced in chapters five and six). In this chapter what I have sought to explain is that these differences in experiences and expressions of 'Scottishness' at Celtic Connections and T in the Park come, in part, from the ways in which the performances are 'staged' and made. This staging (the social, cultural, political and economic factors that influence the form of the festivals) does not determine what is performed, but I argue that these 'staging' factors do frame people's experiences and understandings of musical performances. In a sense all musical performances 'emerge from' a particular framing of or take on 'Scottishness'. I will now develop this idea by thinking about how 'Scottishness' is recognised and experienced through sound.

Chapter Five

'Scottish Sounds': (Re)Presenting 'Scottishness'

In the last chapter I looked at the ways in which the festival contexts of Celtic Connections and T in the Park might 'set the scene' for experiences of 'Scottishness'. Here I focus on the performances that, in part, constitute these events in order to explore the ways in which musical performances (re)produce and (re)present ideas of 'Scottishness'. I argued in chapter three that musical performances are valuable and interesting vehicles for studying national identities because they possess a structural duality as both outcomes and mediums of experience (*cf.* Kong 1995). In other words, musical performances are media through which ideas of nation can be reproduced *and* they are also ways in which ideas of nation can be created and/or reworked or gradually redefined. In this chapter I explore how musical performances can come to signify 'Scottishness' and study in more detail the ways in which processes of (re)presentation allow such identifications to be claimed.

I will begin by outlining the concept of 'Scottish' sounds; the idea that there are certain notational characteristics and means of articulation that belong to a 'Scottish' idiom. However, as I move on to argue in section 5.2, just because a piece of music has certain 'Scottish' idioms does not necessarily mean that it is understood to be 'Scottish'. The ways in which people think about, regard and understand 'Scottish'

music is culturally complex, contested and contradicted. Indeed, as comments by various respondents demonstrate there are struggles over the ways in which music is recognised and labelled as being 'Scottish'. These contestations are borne out of wider concerns over what the label 'Scottish' actually means – how useful it is as a descriptive term – and whether it connotes the kinds of cultural and political ideas that they want their works to be associated with. But another reason why musical performances are difficult to label and categorise is because musical performances are not events where notions of 'Scottishness' are (re)presented in clear and straightforward ways that are universally understood to be 'Scottish'. Indeed, as the final section demonstrates musical performances create timespaces where (potentially contentious) understandings of 'Scottishness' are negotiated, challenged and developed. They are opportunities for people to literally play with 'Scottishness'; to reflect on 'familiar' understandings and create potentially 'new' and 'different' musical expressions and experiences of 'Scottishness'. They are moments in particular timespaces where 'past' ideas of 'Scottishness' meet potential 'future' concepts of 'Scottishness' in the 'present'.

5.1 Scottish Sounds

Creating 'Scottish' sounds is a complex and sometimes contentious activity⁷¹ that can occur as both direct and indirect consequences of *musicking*. Many of the musicians that I spoke to stated that at various times they created music that could be

⁷¹ As I will demonstrate in the following section creating 'Scottish' sounds can become contentious if audiences and musicians hold significantly different beliefs in what 'Scottishness' does or should sound like.

thought of as being 'Scottish' or having connections to 'Scottishness' in some way. However, very few of them consciously set out to create 'Scottish' music. There are a variety of explanations for why they create the kinds of musics that they do, as the quotations below suggest.

Creating 'Scottish' musics	
Influenced by cultural upbringing	"What I do is because I've been brought up in that genre of kinda traditional Scottish music." (Sebastian).
Doesn't intentionally make 'Scottish' traditional music.	"I don't go out to make traditional music. Obviously ma roots are very traditional. [...] But making music is really what it is all about. Making sounds that don't... that sound good in my ear. You know that's what I'm interested in." (Peter).
Composing is sometimes about picking up tunes that have always been there	"I kind of think that the tunes that I've written, I've written in a way that... it's almost like they've been there and it's just been me picking them up. I've always had a reason for writing a tune, there's been somebody in ma mind or something in ma mind and the tunes come that way and they tend to come quite quickly..." (Mary).

Practices of creating music appear to draw on a variety of influences. The kinds of sounds that a musician creates are borne out of both past musical experiences and aesthetic aspirations. Both Sebastian and Peter describe how their musical upbringings within 'Scottish' traditional music affect the styles of music that they compose. But their traditional roots are only one influence. Another strong influence comes from a desire to create music that is pleasing to the performer's ear (*cf.* Peter). These two phenomena are, of course, not mutually exclusive. For some musicians though, talking about composing is very difficult. This is because their composing is carried out at an almost subconscious level. For example, Mary talks about how composing, for her, is a quick process where it is almost as if the tunes were already formed somewhere; she just has to pick them up and write them down.

So the creative impulses that musicians have are affected by a number of factors; none of the musicians that I interviewed create music that fits easily (or necessarily consciously) into some kind of 'Scottish' idiom. These are not musical purists who have a defined goal of (re)producing 'Scottishness' in their music. Nor are they musicians who are creating 'Scottish' music for some overtly political reason. Rather, they are musicians who indirectly draw on a range of influences, some of which might be described as being 'Scottish' to create music that pleases them.

Audience members recognised sounds that they understood to be 'Scottish' at both Celtic Connections and T in the Park. However, as the quotations below suggest 'Scottish' sounds were thought to be relatively scarce at T in the Park.

Scarcity of 'Scottish' sounds at T in the Park

Music at the T in the Park is chart music, not 'Scottish' music	NW "Do you think there's anything Scottish about the music that's being played [at T in the Park]?" R1 "No." R2 "It's just chart isn't it." (Tcomm31)
The Scottish 'vibe' has diminished.	"the first two times I went, I think that there was definitely more of a Scottish vibe to it. [...] But... no, not this time. I mean who was it who was there who was Scottish apart from Travis?" (Jane).
Music was run of the mill except for the Ceilidh Tent	NW "Did you think there was anything particularly Scottish about T in the Park as an event or...?" R "I... don't... think so. [...] maybe it was just like the type of music that was playing 'cos it was Moby and Travis and things like that that are pretty sort of run, to me anyway, pretty sort of run of the mill. [...] But they had a ceilidh tent of course." (Sally).
Sponsor insisted on 'Scottish' music being played at T in the Park. Hence the Ceilidh tent.	NW "Do you think there's anything particularly Scottish about T in the Park?" R "Not really. Erm... to be honest it's just like any of the other festivals that you get down south like Knebworth and all the rest of it. The only difference is that... the Chairman of Tennent's happens to be an accordion player and happens to love Scottish music. So when they were putting the money up for T in the Park he insisted that they had a Ceilidh Tent. [...] I know for a fact [...] 'cos I've met the man and I know him." (Jimmy).

On the whole (and for reasons that will become clear later on in this section) some participants at T in the Park recognised the performances in the ceilidh tent and Travis' set as sounding 'Scottish', but many of the bands that played were not understood to be creating 'Scottish' music. The majority of these bands, as I explained in chapter four, were internationally renowned artists from outside Scotland that were touring the British summer festival circuit. These bands, some of which (such as Idlewild and Lulu) might be described as being 'Scottish' because they are from Scotland were not understood to be performing Scottish music *per se*. Instead they were thought to belong to a more generic 'chart' music sound.

In contrast, at Celtic Connections (and in the ceilidh tent at T in the Park) a significant number of performances, which could be described as being related to the 'traditional', 'folk' and 'Celtic' genres, were understood to sound 'Scottish'. This is demonstrated in the quotations overleaf.

'Scottish' sounds	
<p>Some sounds evoke emotional experiences of Scottish patriotism</p> <p>They elicit connections with (imagined) Scottish histories and geographies</p>	<p>NW "What do you like about Dougie's [Dougie MacLean's] music?"</p> <p>R "Um? Eeuur, I dunno (laughs) I dunno, it's quite emotive. It's lovely it makes you... I would describe him as, his music as Scottish, it's kind of... draws on old... I dunno, sort of historic feelings of country and um... it's, it's kinda music that does make you sort of feel patriotic and like, oh you know (<i>adopts high pitched faux Scots accent</i>) "the hills of home" sort of thing. Really, some of it's like, brings a tear to your eye."</p> <p>NW "So it's the lyrics of that then rather than the style?"</p> <p>R "No I... I don't think that I pay that much attention to the lyrics. I think it's... yeah, it's more how it sounds I think." (Sarah).</p>
Music has an accent	<p>"...there are obviously stylistic differences [with 'Scottish' music] that are based on historic influences and also accent and... you can say that music has an accent the same way that speech has an accent." (Martin).</p>
<p>'Scottish' music is recognisable through hearing certain musical features</p> <p>There are expectations of what 'Scottish' music sounds like</p>	<p>"... you can recognise Scottish music. You know if I played some Scottish folk music and then I played some English folk music, you can tell the difference. It's not so easy between Scottish and Irish because there's a huge crossover obviously, but you can tell the difference because of the musical features that you hear as much as what information's being used and what's conveyed and also what instruments are being used obviously. [...] You do have an expectancy of what you're gonna hear. Not exactly what music you're gonna hear, but features that are gonna be present that kinda run throughout." (Kirsty).</p>
'Scottish' and 'Irish' music is difficult, but not impossible to distinguish	<p>"I mean I couldn't distinguish between er... if you asked me this about Irishness and Scottishness. You get a bit more of the dreamy erm Celtic twilight in the Irish I think. There's a good bite in the Scottish one." (Eleanor).</p>
<p>There's a definite Scottish sound to the 'trained' ear</p> <p>But Scottish sounds vary considerably</p>	<p>R5 "Well there is a definite Scottish sound. I mean the type of traditional music that you hear in Scotland er... although you can find similarities in the other Celtic countries, I mean the trained ear will very easily, you know, pick out the Scottish sound and Scottish rhythms from any of the other Celtic countries. That's my opinion."</p> <p>R1 "A good example of that would be er, we saw Tony McManus and Alasdair Fraser play together a few nights ago and that's more of a Highland style and then we saw Duncan [Chisholm] and Ivan [Drever] last night, same configuration, guitar and fiddle, but a very different sound. Very different style of fiddling and very different style of support and yet it's all within the Scottish milieu." (R5: Alan and R1: Paul).</p>

These quotations suggest that there is a sound (or set of sounds) that people understand to be 'Scottish'. Music, as Martin highlights, has an accent that makes it

distinctive to a particular national culture. This has a certain resonance with the 'Scottish idiom' that Collinson (1966), Davie (1980), Farmer (1970) [1947] and Purser (1992) highlight in their works (see chapter three). This accent may be hard, at times, to distinguish from others (especially the more generic 'Celtic' sound and Irish 'accents') as Eleanor states, and there may be many variations of the accent (*cf.* Paul), but there is an agreement that there is a distinctive 'Scottish' sound which both Scots and non-Scots seem to recognise (*cf.* Alex). What is more though, these sounds seem to evoke particular emotional experiences in some people as Sarah's comments demonstrate. When Sarah hears certain kinds of 'Scottish' sounds she experiences a sense of 'Scottishness' that is rooted in her perceived connection to a particular Scottish heritage and geography. But what are these sounds that people understand to be expressions of 'Scottishness'? From the interviews that I conducted with musicians and audience members it seems that there are three key phenomena that allow people to recognise and understand a piece of music as being 'Scottish'. Firstly, 'Scottish' music is understood to have specific melodic and rhythmic styles. Secondly, it is played on particular ('Scottish') instruments and thirdly, 'Scottish' songs are sung in Gaelic, Scots or (Scottish) accented English. I will now discuss these phenomena in more depth.

'Scottish' melodies and rhythms

Melodic and rhythmic forms are important in people's recognition and understanding of 'Scottish' music. As the quotations overleaf highlight, a number of respondents recognise that there are specific compositional styles and forms which are understood to be 'Scottish'.

'Scottish' compositional forms	
Pipe music is written in certain forms like the <i>piobaireachd</i> , it embellishes themes in a slow, melancholic, lamentful way	"That is Scottish classical music is the pipes. [...] 'cos it's written in a certain form, it's not just like played off the cuff, there's forms in there. [...] The <i>piobaireachd</i> ⁷² is the [...] it's like the slow air. [...] ...it's like the start of certain phrases and then they build on them it's all very very slow, it's melancholy erm it's a lament, it's lamentful. So it's all very sad sounding music but some people think that it's the most beautiful thing on earth... [...] ...it's indigenous to Scotland." (Fraser)
Scotland has its own compositional forms	"...in Scotland, for example, there are bands forms like the Strathspeys ⁷³ which you don't find in either England or Ireland." (Martin).
Distinctive 'Scottish' piping tradition that is influenced by military involvement	"There's also the piping tradition as well which is very different to the Irish tradition [...]. I suppose a lot of it has come up through, in Scotland anyway, the kind of military involvement and the tunes are quite different, they have a different form." (Tony).
Based on pentatonic scales	"It's based [our music] on the sort of scales, like the pentatonic scales that they use in Scotland and Ireland... especially that style of music in the Highlands." (Alex).
'Scottish' music is based around certain chords	"Most Scottish music is based around certain chords... [...] So there's usually, most of the time, a basic chord structure there anyway in any tune that you go to an' people get to know that..." (Jimmy).
Melody line defines different kinds of music. Timing of the melody is also significant	"...when you talk about Scottish music, to me, what it is is the tune line, you know the melody. And Irish music has its own melody and Swedish music has its own melody, which is not just the melody, but the timing of it as well. It's very much the melody line is what, to me, defines the different kinds of music." (Mary).

These quotations reveal some of the ways in which people recognise distinctive melodic forms to be 'Scottish'. Some people, such as Fraser and Martin, recognise

⁷² *Piobaireachd* (also known as pibroch in lowland Scots) and *ceòl beag* are the two main categories of bagpipe music. *Piobaireachd* (also known as *ceòl mór*) includes a variety of laments, salutes and gathering tunes that are all in the form of a theme and variations. Nowadays these tend to be played by and for aficionados. *Ceòl beag* consists of dance music genres (such as marches, strathspeys, reels and jigs) and is a much more recent and popular idiom (Daiches 1981 and New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians 2001).

⁷³ Strathspeys are a distinctive variety of fiddle music – although they are also played on other instruments – that originated in the Strathspey district of North Eastern Scotland. The effect of the Strathspey is dependent upon a characteristic up-bow stroke and also the capacity of the fiddle to stop sounding abruptly after its characteristic reversed dotted rhythm figure, known as Scots Snap (Collinson 1966).

formal compositional forms such as *pìobaireachds*⁷⁴ and Strathpeys⁷⁴, which they understand to be distinctive to Scotland. The influence of compositional forms or formulas is not unique to 'Scottish' music *per se*. There are various compositional forms such as sonata and rondo forms in the classical genre where composers adopt specific, established patterns of themes and variations in their work (*cf.* Swafford 1993). Therefore it is in common with other music that 'Scottish' music has a number of distinctive, recognisable, formal compositional modes such as *pìobaireachds* and Strathpeys⁷⁴.

Other respondents, however, are more vague about the distinctive melodic styles that are articulated in 'Scottish' music. Tony, for instance, suggests that a distinctive piping tradition – which arises, in part, because of the musical influences of the military – has led to the development of distinctive 'Scottish' tunes. (This in itself is an interesting point; the notion that the *British* military, in part, creates a piping tradition that is understood to be distinctively 'Scottish'). Further points of melodic distinctiveness centre on the use of particular 'Scottish' chord patterns (*cf.* Jimmy). This suggests that distinctive harmonies might also be significant in people's recognition of 'Scottish' music. In addition, the use of pentatonic scales are also understood to be 'commonly' used in the 'Scottish' idiom (*cf.* Alex and also Collinson 1966 and Purser 1992).

However, as the final quote by Mary suggests, it is not just melodies that are significant in people's recognition and understanding of 'Scottishness'. What is also

⁷⁴ Collinson (1966) provides definitive compositional formulae of the Strathspey and the

important is the timing of the melodies. In other words, the rhythm of the melody is as important as distinctive chord patterns in the distinctiveness of 'Scottish' music, as the quotations below emphasise.

Rhythmic articulations of 'Scottishness'	
Rhythm and feel of the music defines it	"...it's the rhythm and the feel of it that defines it as, you know, one type of music or another type of music. I mean especially between Scotland and Ireland, because there was so many tunes that go... You know we have fights about it all the time "no, no it's Scottish" "no it's not it's Irish". You know and [one performer] will go and find it in an Irish tune book and we'll find it in a Scottish tune book and it will really be a different expression of the same tune." (Mary).
Musicians fight over 'national origins' of tunes	
Scots melodies are more spiky and 'up and down' than their Irish counterparts	"English music tends to be taken at a slightly slower tempo, tends to be much more... the accents tend to be a bit heavier than they are in the Scottish and Irish music. And I'd say that Irish music is much more... I'm talking about instrumental music here... dance music has a much more kind of rolling character, whereas Scots music is sort of more spiky and up and down you know. [...] ...there are definite, I mean you can play... an English band and a Scottish band can play the same tune and you would instantly know which is which." (Martin).
Scottish music is very syncopated.	I also think that Scottish music is very, very, syncopated. And you see that most with pipe bands and the drummers with pipe bands. Although I'm not entirely sure that's Scottish. That might have been influenced by something else, but for me that's always been happening. The syncopated pipe band rhythm has always been there." (Mary).

During interviews with musicians and audience members I was struck by the ways in which there is obviously no doubt in people's minds that there are distinctive 'Scottish' sounds. Often people attribute these sounds to formal, compositional structures, but more commonly the bases upon which people recognise 'Scottishness' are articulated in ways that are far more allusive. It seems that recognising 'Scottish' sounds – or a 'Scottish' vibe – is relatively straightforward, but fathoming out what, precisely, makes them 'Scottish' is sometimes another matter. This idea is consistent

with Connor's (1993) work that I highlighted in chapter two. Here, Connor suggests that ideas of national identity rest on a subconscious belief in a nation's separate origin and evolution. Therefore the ways in which people *perceive* and *experience* national cultures and identities as separate and distinctive is important in the formation of national identities. For example, Mary states that 'Scottish' music is defined by "the rhythm and *feel* of it" (emphasis added). For her, 'Scottishness' is not only found in the composition of a tune, but in the *performance* of it. It is not just notes on a page; patterns of theme and variations that make certain musics 'Scottish', but it is through the (bodily) expression and experience of these tunes and their rhythmic qualities that Mary understands them to be 'Scottish' or something else.

Mary elaborates on these points when she talks about the ways in which musicians "fight" over whether a tune is 'Scottish' or 'Irish', for example. She states that quite often musicians will find identical melodies in 'Irish' and 'Scottish' collections of tunes, but it is the *performance* of them that gives them their national distinctiveness; it is the *expression* of the tune that is different not the tune *per se*. Martin's comments support this notion where he too argues that English and Scottish bands can play the same melody, but he can "instantly know which is which" from the way that they are played. For example, he claims that he can tell the difference between 'Irish' and 'Scottish' instrumental music because 'Irish' tunes are "more rolling in character" whereas their 'Scottish' counterparts are more "spiky" and "up and down". This has a certain resonance to the 'bite' that Eleanor (page 152) recognised to be 'Scottish'. It seems that what Martin and Mary are talking about here is the

rhythmic expression of these melodies. It is not the rhythmic qualities of the melody *per se* that articulates notions of 'Scottishness' but the ways in which they are performed.

Perhaps one of the reasons why people understand 'Scottish' music to be spikier than other musics is the presence of what is referred to as scotch snap rhythms (*cf.* Kirsty). As I explained in chapter three the Scots or Scotch Snap is the rhythmic figure of a stressed semi-quaver followed by an unstressed dotted quaver (♩.) (*cf.* Collinson 1966). According to Purser (1992) the snap rhythm may reflect a parallel tendency in spoken Gaelic and Scots to accent the first syllables of words but has become, according to the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (2001), a "rhythmic cliché" of 'Scottish' music. Although most closely associated with Strathspeys, the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (2001) states that the snap is also used to special effect in reels and is characteristic of 'Scottish' pipe marches.

So it seems that tunes, melodies, harmonies and rhythms play a significant role in people's aural recognition and understanding of certain pieces of music as being 'Scottish'. There are certain compositional forms that people recognise to be indicative of a 'Scottish' idiom, but there are also performative styles that connote 'Scottishness'. However, it is not just performative styles *per se* that can signify 'Scottishness'. The means through which performances are articulated, the languages and instruments that are used in performance also play a significant role.

Scottish Languages

One distinctive factor, which gives songs a 'Scottish' character, is the use of (Scottish) accented English, Scots and Gaelic⁷⁵ (cf. Collinson 1966, Davie 1980 and Purser 1992). As the following quotations suggest, accent and language use allow people to not only distinguish songs as belonging to a particular national culture, but, they also allow Scots to connect with the musicians and their music through the sharing of familiar accents. The works of Billig (1995) and Hobsbawm (1992) highlight how significant such shared notions of language or dialect can be in legitimising claims of national cultural distinctiveness and promoting nationalist (separatist) politics.

Influence of Scottish accents and languages	
Speech accents music and makes it nationally distinctive	"...in song there's of course the way the speech accents the music [...] which is an obvious difference even when there's dialectal, dialectal differences as well, which again would characterise the songs from one country to another." (Martin).
Likes the fact that some artists sing in their Scottish accent	NW "Which aspects of Dougie's work do you like the most?" R "His guitar work, well it's no... it's his guitar and his voice. I like the fact that his Scottish accent comes through when he's singing. With a lot of speakers it's a very international kind of thing to change the way you speak. But Dougie, I mean, uses his Scottish accent." (Ccomm05).
Scots recognise Scottish accents because they're familiar	NW "...you were talking about the Scottish bands that play at T in the Park... Do you think their music is different to other bands say like Macy Gray or Iggy Pop or people like that?" R "Well yeah, 'cos it was like Iggy Pop came on and it was sort of like a strange accent, whereas Travis came on and you sort of recognised the singing... the singin' voice, the singin' tone of his voice and everything like that." (Stewart).

⁷⁵ As a reminder, when I refer to Gaelic I am actually talking about Scots Gaelic, which does differ slightly from Irish Gaelic (Daiches 1981).

In the second quote the respondent not only recognises Dougie MacLean's accent as being Scottish, but he enjoys the fact that Dougie chooses to sing in his own accent rather than adopt a more 'international' accent as some popular singers do (*cf.* Frith 1996b, and Trudgill 1983). Similarly, Stewart states that the difference between listening to Scottish bands such as Travis at T in the Park and non-Scottish artists is the recognition of a *familiar* Scottish singing accent.

The power of music (and in particular song) to give people a (political) voice has been recognised by a number of writers (see for example Carroll and Connell 2000, Frith 1987a, 1987b and 1996b, Smith 1997 and Wood and Smith forthcoming). However, where much of these past literatures have concentrated on the political sentiments that are conveyed through lyrics, little has been said about the language or accents in which these politically powerful proclamations are made. I argue that language and accent use can play a significant role in the formation of national cultures and identities. This is because they can reify the notion that a nation has a form of communication that is culturally distinctive.

For some of the musicians that I spoke to, the language that they used in musical performances was extremely important. For example, Peter wrote a choral composition in the Scots language that was performed at Celtic Connections. When I asked him why he had chosen Scots rather than English for his composition he said...

“Well [I chose Scots] because the people of the last thousand years haven’t spoken in English at all. They spoke Scots. Now, there are so many different dialects of it... I just chose Scots because it’s the language of the Scottish people. Gaelic probably would have been a fair one to use as well er... apart from it hasn’t been so widely spoken for the whole of Scotland. [...] I just like to remember that it’s out there, ‘cos Scots is a beautiful language. I’m a big fan of it. Very poetic and it would be great if we were all still speakin’ it.” (Peter).

The role of language and accent in people’s recognition and expression of ‘Scottishness’ in music was a topic that respondents often talked about. However, one of the surprising ‘results’ of my research is how little people talked about lyrics. For example, a few respondents recognised songs based on the works of poets such as Burns (1759-1796) and Souter (1898-1943) to be Scottish, but could not comment on the lyrical content of these works. Most respondents stated that lyrics are not of primary importance to their understanding of a musical performance because they either do not really pay attention to lyrics (see for example Sarah’s comments on page 152), or they do not remember them after the performance. Additionally, in the case of musicians, they were uncomfortable with the idea that they might have to ‘analyse’ their lyrics and often demonstrated discomfort with the idea that I might be engaging in some kind of discourse analysis of their work⁷⁶. I think that this reaction by some musicians comes from three sources. First, I think that musicians were concerned that if I concentrated on lyrics I would be missing something far more important concerning non-linguistic musical expression. Second, I think that they may have been embarrassed to talk about lyrics that were taken out of their musical and performative context. Third, and perhaps most significantly, I think that they might have been concerned about an ‘academic’ dipping into something without

understanding its significance to those who produce and live it. Indeed, it is partly because of people's unwillingness and inability to engage with the lyrical content of songs that I do not discuss them in this thesis. Another reason for people's reticence at talking about lyrics though might be that sometimes they are articulated in a language that the respondents do not understand.

Scots and Gaelic are commonly perceived to be 'Scottish' languages however, questions over the distinctiveness of Scots and the relative scarcity of Gaelic speakers raise a number of questions over the role that these 'languages' play in contemporary 'Scottish' culture. The role of Scots in 'Scottish' culture is complex. It is commonly perceived to be a national language of Scotland (*cf.* Davidson 2000; Kynoch 1996 and Peter's quote above). Yet this form of expression – which receives surprisingly little attention in the literatures on Scotland and 'Scottish' identities – is variously described as both a distinctive 'Scottish' *language* (Scottish Executive 2000) and a *dialect* of English (in the same way as 'Cockney', 'Scouse', or 'Geordie' dialects). Davidson (2000) argues that Scots is not a separate 'Scottish' language (see also Billig 1995⁷⁷). Instead he argues that from the tenth century onwards Scots – a dialect of English spoken originally in Northumbria – was brought to the Lothians and beyond by trade and conquest, long before a discreet territorial border between England and Scotland was secured. Scots therefore, Davidson (2000) argues, is a regional dialect of English that developed from the tenth century – in

⁷⁶ A number of musicians stated before the interviews that they were not interested in looking for 'hidden' meanings in their lyrics.

⁷⁷ Interestingly Billig (1995) drawing on the work of Haugen (1966) suggests that dialects are frequently languages that do not succeed politically.

various sub-regional forms – in the area that we would now consider as Northumbria and Lowland and North Eastern Scotland.

With regards to this research it is interesting that very few interviewees talked about Scots in relation to Scottish identity. As I will demonstrate in a moment, the majority of comments about Scottish languages and dialects refer to Gaelic. There are two possible reasons for this. First, Scots does not receive the kind of institutional support that Gaelic receives⁷⁸. For example, the Scottish Executive established a task force on Gaelic Broadcasting which recently proposed a set of measures for the development of a Gaelic broadcasting service (Scottish Executive 2000). There are (a limited number of) state controlled Gaelic schools for children and the Gaelic Broadcasting Committee currently funds the annual production and broadcasting of around 160 hours of Gaelic television programmes (Scottish Executive 2000). At present there are no equivalent initiatives for Scots. A second possible explanation for the lack of attention that Scots received in interviews is suggested by Peter. During a discussion of the 'Scottish' Requiem that he had written in the Scots language I asked him if he spoke Scots. He said: -

“Not at all. I can understand Scots. I mean who really speaks Scots now apart from the few people like Billy Kay or... erm... it's dialects you know. I just speak the dialect of my age group which is, it's like affected by television and schooling, which can't be helped and I'm not apologising for it” (Peter).

In an earlier quote Peter stated that Scots was a separate language, however, he suggests that Scots, due to the influence of phenomena such as television and

⁷⁸ Even though the Scottish Executive (2000) claims that Scots, like Gaelic is a distinctive language.

schooling, has evolved into a kind of hybrid English dialect. So Scots may not have featured greatly in discussions of 'Scottish' accents because people do not recognise it to be a separate language. Rather it forms part of a more distinctive way of speaking Scottish (accented) English⁷⁹.

In contrast to Peter's suggestion that no one really speaks Scots in a pure form anymore, Gaelic survives as a distinctive language. This being said, very few people speak Gaelic and it is currently in decline. Recent census statistics state that in 2001 only 1.9% of Scots over the age of three could speak, read, write or understand Gaelic⁸⁰. In addition, the proportion of people able to speak Gaelic in Scotland fell from 1.4% to 1.2% between 1991 and 2001 (General Register Office for Scotland 2003, Table 10). This decline was evident in the life-stories of some of my interviewees. Only five respondents (all of which were from Celtic Connections) could speak some Gaelic. However, as the quotations overleaf illustrate, two came from Gaelic speaking backgrounds but had not been taught Gaelic by their parents.

⁷⁹ As some of the quotations in this thesis illustrate some Scottish people do use Scots phrases in their everyday (English) conversations.

Not taught Gaelic by parents

Couldn't have a conversation in Gaelic	NW "Do you both speak Gaelic?" R "Ma brother has a lot more Gaelic than I have. I couldn't have a conversation in Gaelic. [...] Ma mother came from Skye and ma father came from Tiree. They spoke Gaelic" (Ccomm4)
Gaelic speakers were subjected to institutional vandalism Gaelic speakers were made to feel that their culture was useless	NW "So you didn't speak [Gaelic] at home then?" R "No. They [his parents] were told not to do it, so they never speak it at home really. This is a... well it's institutional vandalism if you like that... you know the cul... the English... what do you wanna call it the establishment, which is based in London tried to kill the Scottish culture years ago, they've always done that and even up to the time when my parents were at school you know their own teachers from their own culture would tell them not to speak Gaelic in the playground, which is outrageous [...]. That's why they weren't bothered about us learning Gaelic because what use is it? No serious, people actually said that about their own culture. What's the point of speaking Gaelic? What use is it?" (Fraser).

In quotation Ccomm4 the respondent suggests that she was taught limited Gaelic by her parents; it obviously was not used as a first language as she states that she could not hold a conversation in Gaelic. Unfortunately I did not get time to ask her why this was the case. In the second case quote though Fraser offers an impassioned explanation for why he did not speak Gaelic at home even though he was brought up in the Western Isles and his parents could speak Gaelic. Views such as this represent what Chapman (1978) would consider to be a romantic and inaccurate interpretation of the decline of Gaelic. Indeed, as he forcefully states...

"Rather than accept that Gaelic is dying because people have stopped using it, we are presented with a less problematical and more easily resolvable problem if we imagine that Gaelic is dying because its speakers have been killed, shipped overseas, or beaten whenever they uttered a Celtic word. Remove this oppression, it might seem, and the language will blossom. The language is not blossoming, however, and it

⁸⁰ This category of being able to understand spoken Gaelic was new in 2001 so no comparative data is available.

is still convenient to recall tales of children being thrashed for speaking Gaelic." (Chapman 1978: 223)

Chapman's argument contradicts Fraser's family's experience as Gaelic speakers. Fraser explains how his parents' culture was subjected to 'institutional vandalism'. For example, his parents were told not to speak Gaelic at school. Fraser's parents were affected by policies like this to such an extent that they adopted English as their first language and decided not to teach Fraser the language that they had originally grown up with. As Fraser suggests, his parents did not think that there was any point in teaching him Gaelic. This experience that Fraser describes seems to speak quite clearly to Charles Taylor's notion of misrecognition, where Taylor argues that:

"...our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the misrecognition of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves. Nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted and reduced mode of being." (1992b: 225)

Taylor's argument challenges the views of Chapman (1978) where he argues that people simply stop speaking Gaelic because, pragmatically, English is a more useful language (*cf.* Davidson 2000)⁸¹. Taylor's (1992b) thesis suggests that Gaelic was not simply rejected because it was becoming less useful in a Scotland that was increasingly dominated by the English language (politically, economically and

⁸¹ A comparison with Welsh language usage also unsettles Chapman's (1978) argument about the 'pragmatic' decline of Gaelic speakers. According to the most recent census figures Welsh has not declined to the extent of Gaelic and, indeed, the number of Welsh speakers aged three and over living in Wales increased from 19% in 1991 (National Assembly for Wales 2003) to 21% in 2001 (Office for National Statistics 2003). This suggests that there may be other factors and/or pressures on Gaelic beyond a desire to speak a more 'useful' mainstream language.

culturally). Instead it seems that people were made to feel inferior for speaking it and so might have rejected it in favour of a language that reflected more positively upon them.

Whatever the reasons behind the demise of the Gaelic language, what is important in the context of my study are the ways in which musical performances give Gaelic speakers a voice and the impact that this voice has on the role and perception of Gaelic in contemporary 'Scottish' culture. Although Gaelic as a spoken language has declined the tradition of 'Gaelic song' has always been present. This was evident at a number of performances at Celtic Connections. Indeed, I interviewed the respondent (quoted in Ccomm4, earlier) at a 'Gaelic Women' performance. After learning about her Gaelic background I asked her if she was familiar with any of the songs. She said: -

“Oh yes. [...] You know you were brought up with all this music, ‘cos even when you were younger you were taken in the city, when they had the big gatherings and concerts, you know we were always taken by our grandparents and our parents to the concerts.” (Ccomm04).

Even though the respondent was not taught Gaelic in the home, she was still taken to concerts of Gaelic songs. This is further evidence that although Gaelic usage might have been in decline in other areas of everyday life people with Gaelic speaking backgrounds still had contact with the language through song. I argue that Gaelic song plays a significant role in the survival of Scottish (Gaelic) culture for two reasons. Firstly, hearing Gaelic songs motivates some people to learn Gaelic as the quotations overleaf demonstrate:

Gaelic song inspires some people to learn Gaelic	
Gaelic songs highlight the fact that Gaelic is still spoken, but that it is under threat	<p>NW "Do you speak Gaelic yourself?"</p> <p>R "I do, I'm learning Gaelic and making great headway at it, so I really really enjoyed [the Gaelic Women concert]".</p> <p>NW "What is it about the Gaelic songs do you think that er..."</p> <p>R "It's an indigenous language of the British Isles and it's a terrible shame that we have lost Cornish in a living form, [...] it's dead and gone and so it makes you waken up to the fact that we're losing our cultural heritage." (Dougie)</p>
Motivation to learn Gaelic was 'a romantic thing' connected to Gaelic culture	<p>"Well the motivation to start learning [Gaelic] was very much to do with the harp and the music side of things [...]. I hesitate to say this, but it was a bit of a romantic thing, I mean I really love Scotland and I particularly love the West of Scotland [...] I think the culture is amazing, I think that the art was amazing, the poetry's amazing and, their images are amazing and I feel very close... connected to it. I don't know whether that's a sentimental thing or not. Scots are really sentimental I know..." (Mary).</p>
Some Gaelic musicians carried on the tradition of Gaelic culture at a time when it was not popular	<p>"[Runrig] basically... they did their own thing when it was totally uncool to talk about Gaelic or... [...] [they] kept the tradition going [...] ...the fact that they were actually representing their, their culture and singing about it and writing stuff, [...] ...with my parents being Gaelic speakers I go to the islands and you hear Gaelic spoken and I thought well, it's about time I did something about it, so [learning Gaelic is] basically something I felt I had to do." (Fraser).</p>

All of the respondents quoted above were inspired to learn Gaelic because of Gaelic song. But what is particularly interesting is that they are inspired to learn Gaelic because of a perceived *emotional attachment* to ideas of 'Scottishness'. Dougie was moved to learn Gaelic because he does not want Scotland to lose its cultural heritage. Mary's interest in Gaelic comes from a perceived attachment to Scottish Gaelic culture. She recognises that this motivation might be romantic or sentimental but (in her own words) she loves Scotland and wants to know its culture more fully; she wants to deepen the connection that she feels to Scotland.

Where Dougie's and Mary's inspiration came from 'traditional' 'Gaelic' culture, Fraser found his in a more contemporary style of Gaelic music. Fraser explained at various points of the interview that when he was growing up there were no positive role models of Gaelic speakers – Gaelic was not 'cool', it was an old fashioned language that he felt had little place in contemporary Scottish society. However, hearing Gaelic sung by contemporary Scottish bands such as Runrig⁷ gave him the incentive to learn Gaelic; the language that his parents grew up with. Gaelic was given the 'cool' cachet that it lacked during his youth. Runrig do something different with the Gaelic language. Instead of playing 'traditional' songs in 'traditional' ways they fuse Gaelic lyrics with contemporary 'rock' instrumentation and melodic styles. Bands such as Runrig and Capercaillie give the Gaelic language a different voice and role in Scotland's contemporary music scene. For Fraser it allows him to connect with a notion of Gaelic that has a more meaningful place in contemporary culture; a notion of Gaelic that he could be proud of having links to.

What I argue here is that these cases suggest that there is something about the *emotional power* of (Gaelic) musical performances that moves some people to deepen their understanding of and connection to Scottish (Gaelic) culture. In effect they counter the forces of misrecognition that Taylor (1992b) recognises. They allow people to develop a pride in their Scottish identity and their (perceived) links to Gaelic culture. But Gaelic song can promote the survival of Scottish (Gaelic) culture in a second way. Dougie, who was learning Gaelic in order to deepen his life long appreciation of Gaelic song highlighted that it is not just through hearing Gaelic *per se* that people can deepen their links to 'Scottish' culture. Indeed, as the

following quote illustrates what is also important (for those that understand Gaelic) is the content of the Gaelic songs. In a workshop on Gaelic song Dougie talked to a Gaelic singer about her role as a Gaelic performer. He said: -

“This was Ishbel MacAskill the famous singer and she pointed out, she said “we’re not just singers, we are the bearers of a tradition. I learned these songs from so and so, who learned these songs from so and so, who in turn learned these songs from so and so”. So therefore there is the, there’s an input over the many long years of a fresh look at this song that was somebody’s favourite [...] ...she pointed out that they’re not just songs, they are holding together the tradition of a people because [...] their history is held in song [...]. It doesn’t mean that there aren’t any history books, but it means that it was held in a living way by ordinary people.” (Dougie).

Gaelic song is popularly thought to hold the history of the *Gaedhealtachd* (the Highlands) through the historic performance of two quite different kinds of songs; the heroic and the domestic (*cf.* Davie 1980). Heroic songs refer to the bardic tradition of Gaelic song production. This is described in detail by one of the musicians that I spoke to:

“The Gaelic has... the kind of method of production is slightly different in that bardic tradition that still holds today. It was certainly strong right up until the first half of [the last] century where people were designated as bards within the community and would compose lyrics in particular either on ancient themes or contemporary themes often to old strains of music.” (Martin).

Early Gaelic bards – who, in their own right, have become significant figures of Scottish folklore – wrote songs which were popularly based on the lives and deaths of ‘ancient’, legendary Celtic heroes such as Fionn and Ossian in the Ossianic ballads (New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians). Davie (1980) argues that

these heroes are based (albeit remotely) on historical fact, but that over time narratives have been embellished with 'figmentary detail'.

As a point of connection, it was not just within the Gaelic oral tradition that these 'ancient' poems were embellished and modified. If the reader thinks back to chapter two they will remember that it was these same 'ancient' Gaelic poems that were adapted, adopted and extended in the eighteenth century by a number of literary figures. In response to a general wave of Romantic nationalism that was influencing the literary culture at the time, Gaelic culture was 'symbolically appropriated' (Chapman 1978) and refashioned so that Gaelic culture and, in turn, Highlandism became central tenets of *Scottish* and not just Gaelic culture (*cf.* Chapman 1978, Davidson 2000 and Devine 1999).

Whilst there is a clear bardic tradition of heroic song in Gaelic culture, there is also a strong history of domestic song. As might be expected these songs refer to the events of everyday life. Mostly anonymous in origin (*cf.* Davie 1980) these songs refer to a wide range of topics including songs about love affairs, ideas of homeland, and the passing of the seasons, and were used for a wide range of purposes such as putting infants to sleep, entertainment, and funereal laments. Perhaps the most common of these Gaelic domestic songs though are labour songs; songs that were used to break the monotony of rhythmic, routinised communal tasks such as rowing, reaping and *waulking* (tweed-shrinking) (Collinson 1966).

These labour songs and, in particular *waulking* songs have a very distinctive style as they are performed to a very strict and usually heavily marked rhythm. In the case of *waulking* songs women would have sung these songs as they pounded urine soaked tweed cloths on a boards in order to shrink them. At the Gaelic Women concert at Celtic Connections a contemporary rendition of a *waulking* song was performed accompanied by a synthesiser, *clàrsach*, whistle and hand drum. A version of this song can be heard on track five of the accompanying CD.

Five singers join the instrumentalists on stage; Maggie MacInnes, Ishbel MacAskill, Mairi MacInnes, Mairi Morrison and Anna Murray. Maggie sings a strictly rhythmic song. She swings her hands together left and right marking out a beat that is supported by a hand drum. There's a heavy thud of people in the audience tapping their feet in time with the rhythm. Very strong beat. After each verse the other four singers seem to reply to the soloists melody in a kind of refrain. Synths play long, sustained notes, clàrsach subtly embellishes the melody with some harmonic phrases. The rhythm is almost hypnotic. (Performance notes from Gaelic Women, 13th January 2000).

Waulking songs are characterised by series of non-lexical vocals in the refrain. According to the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (2001) these refrains have a mnemonic function of enabling the singer to recall the melody. Although there are a number of 'standard' *waulking* songs that were performed by working women, Dougie emphasised how *waulking* songs were also vehicles in which women could gossip, tease and talk to each other during their work: -

“[Gaelic Women] displayed the entire range of what is possible in Gaelic singing from *puirt-a-beul*⁸² which is used in the sort of like *waulk* songs [...] how beautiful it can sound with strict er and the voices are passed antiphonally from one to the other [...] women would be picking away like this and some people singing on their own and er... somebody would sing a sly verse that was not there before and was unexpected about Charlie boy or somebody coming up the street you see, like they... of course she's teasing her neighbour who is a bit on the fond side of Charlie boy coming up the street (chuckles) [...] you can get an insight into the world of working women.” (Dougie).

Gaelic domestic songs offer an (albeit partial) insight into the everyday lives of people living in the Highlands and Islands. It captures and communicates the feelings and experiences of singers in specific (domestic) timespaces. 'Traditional' Gaelic songs are perceived to potentially inform people (if they can understand Gaelic) about a way of life which has now, largely, disappeared. The practice of *waulking*, for example, practically died out during the last century. So the songs survive even though the language in which they are sung is in significant decline and the ways of life that inspired them are all but gone.

So, 'Scottish' languages, dialects and accents are notable as signifiers of 'Scottishness'. But, in addition, 'Scottish' languages like Gaelic can also inspire people to learn Gaelic by reifying the emotional connections that some people feel to notions of 'Scottishness'. It is not just the recognition of the language *per se* that is significant though, what is equally important are the ways in which Gaelic song allows people to learn about and make connections to past ('Scottish') ways of life. It allows them to experience the notions of shared history that (Penrose 1995 and

⁸² *Puirt-a-beul* refers to a form of Gaelic mouth music, where the voice is used in place of instruments. Mouth music does not use lyrics, but series of syllables to create the rhythm, tone and timbre of melodies.

Smith 1986) argue are essential to constructions of nation and national identity. Languages and accents are only one form of musical articulation though. Another form of articulation that is equally important in people's recognition and understanding of 'Scottish' musical performances involves hearing 'Scottish' instruments. I will now discuss this in further detail.

'Scottish' Instruments

Certain instruments signify notions of 'Scottishness' for a number of respondents. The following comments highlight several instruments that were thought, by some, to intonate notions of 'Scottishness'.

Scottish instruments	
Voice, pipes, fiddle and <i>clàrsach</i> are 'ancient' 'Scottish' instruments	NW "What were the 'Scottish' instruments that you would do [in the education programme]?"
Accordion is significant	R "The... well voice, pipes, fiddle and <i>clàrsach</i> ⁸³ . Those are the ancient ones. We also put accordion on, 'cos although it's only been here for a couple o' hundred years in different forms, it carries a huge number of the tunes and melodies and as a dance band instrument it's quite significant nowadays. Er and other forms of percussion, bodhrans ⁸⁴ and drums, which have been in every society since before melody instruments were. But the important ones are the pipes, the fiddle and the <i>clàrsach</i> , because they carry the most ancient melodies with them and have done for a very long time." (Education Officer, Celtic Connections).
Bodhrans, and drums have been used in every society	
Instruments give 'Celtic' or 'Scottish' feel	"...when you add in instruments like fiddle and accordion... automatically it takes on a Celtic or Scottish feel to it." (Eilidh).
Pipes is more of a 'Scottish' than a 'Celtic' influence	"I'm working on a project maself just now, which is more of a kind of dance thing with what I would call a Scottish influence rather than a Celtic one, which is perhaps more of a pipes thing..." (Tony).

⁸³ A *clàrsach* is a Celtic harp.

⁸⁴ A bodhran is a kind of drum that is held vertically and played with a double-headed beater. The drummer strikes the drum on both downward and upward strokes.

A number of instruments seem to be linked to the creation of 'Scottish' music. These are primarily the (bag)pipes, fiddle and *clàrsach*, with the accordion and certain percussion instruments such as the bodhran playing a slightly less significant role⁸⁵. For some respondents the presence of one or more of these instruments potentially gives musical performances a 'Scottish' feel. For example, Eilidh suggests that the presence of instruments like the fiddle and accordion are important in this regard, whereas for Tony the presence of pipes signifies 'Scottishness'.

In order to fully understand the influence that instruments have on ideas of 'Scottishness' it is necessary to think about some points of connection with the previous discussion on melodies and harmonies. As the Education Officer at Celtic Connections suggests the pipes, fiddle and *clàrsach*, are (potential) signifiers of 'Scottishness' because they are instruments which have 'traditionally' been used to create music in Scotland; these instruments "carry the most ancient melodies with them and have done for a very long time". So these instruments play a significant role in people's understanding of 'Scottish' music not only because of the sounds and tones that they produce but also because the tonality of an instrument affects the kinds of melodies that it can create. Indeed, instruments and melodies are intimately linked, not only by the simple fact that instruments are necessary to sound melodies, but also because instruments constrain and limit the bounds of a musician's creativity. All instruments have (to varying extents) limitations; sounds and tones that they cannot create. A good illustration of this can be seen with the example of the bagpipe.

⁸⁵ Because the accordion is a relatively recent addition and percussion instruments are common to all

The pipe scale is not the same as the equal temperament ('orchestral') scale that many Western audiences are familiar with. Although some works compare the pipe scale to a 'natural' (equal temperament) scale (*cf.* Collinson 1966) Isacoff (2002) reminds us there is nothing 'natural' about the equal temperament scale. Musical tones are vibrations (of plucked or bowed strings, of hollow tubes resonating around a flow of air, or of a surface stunned into sound by being struck). These vibrations travel through air and are heard in patterns of higher and lower pitch tones. People find combinations of tones to be more or less pleasing depending on their cultural background and exposure to different musics.

Isacoff (2002) argues that a "magical resonance" occurs when two notes vibrate together in certain, simple, mathematical ratios – for example when the frequency of the top tone is twice that of the bottom one (commonly known as an octave). Tones joined together in these relations (known as concordances) have a "sense of completeness and of inevitability" (Isacoff 2002: 14). The big problem for musicians throughout the ages has been how to produce instruments with fixed pitches (such as keyboard instruments) which allow for the simultaneous sounding of different sets of concordances – such as pure octaves (which resonate at a 2:1 ratio), pure thirds (which resonate at a 5:4 ratio) and pure fifths (which resonate at a 3:2 ratio) (*cf.* Isacoff 2002). Remarkably these long revered musical proportions refuse to sit comfortably with each other on a fixed pitch instrument; if a keyboard is set up to

societies (*cf.* Education Officer, Celtic Connections).

play pure octaves at a 2:1 ratio then it is impossible for a pure fifth to be sounded in every octave.

Various attempts were made in the West to temper fixed pitch instruments so that they could produce desired harmonies such as pure thirds, pure fifths and octaves (Isacoff 2002). In the seventeenth century though a few musicians' became so dissatisfied with the relative inability of tempered instruments to produce ever complex and innovative harmonies that they developed a radical solution. They abandoned the accepted musical formulas of the day and completely reconfigured the keyboard's tuning replacing its "complex labyrinth of uneven steps and shifting proportions" (Isacoff 2002: 17) with an octave span neatly divided into twelve equal parts. This is known as an equal temperament scale. At the time it caused outrage as this 'compromise' scale 'lost' many of the pure harmonies that delighted musicians at the time. However, this is the scale that has come to dominate the ways in which people recognise and understand harmonies in modern western societies.

One of the distinctive qualities of the Scottish bagpipe is that even though it is a fixed pitch instrument – as the player's lips do not touch the reed and the air supply is squeezed at a constant pressure from a bag or bellows⁸⁶ – the notes it produces do not conform to the equal temperament scale as figure 5.1 illustrates. This characteristic distinguishes the Scottish pipes from some other types of pipes (such as Spanish pipes) that play an equal temperament major scale.

The Scottish Bagpipe Scale (relative to equal temperament)	
A	
G	(but sounds sharp)
F [#]	(but sounds slightly flat)
E	
D	(but sounds sharp)
C [#]	(but sounds flat)
B	
A	(but sounds more like an A [#])
G	(but sounds sharp)

Figure 5.1 The Bagpipe Scale (*cf.* Cannon 1988 and Collinson 1966)

There are considerable differences of opinion concerning the development of the Scottish bagpipe scale (*cf.* Cannon 1988; Collinson 1966; Podnos 1974). However, one plausible argument is that the tonality of the Scottish pipe was fixed to a pentatonic scale (albeit tempered by individual pipers) because, as Cannon (1988) argues, pentatonicism is the basis for a great deal of ‘traditional’ ‘Scottish’ tunes⁸⁷. So it seems that the Scottish pipe is developed to play pre-existing ‘Scottish’ melodies.

The tonality of the pipes seem to have an impact on notions of ‘Scottishness’ for two reasons. Firstly pipers develop ‘new’ tunes which have a distinctive ‘Scottish’ sound partly because they are based on restricted pentatonic scales. Secondly, some people

⁸⁶ Musicians can normally temper wind blown instruments by either adjusting their mouth position on a reed (if there is one) or altering the flow of air entering the mouthpiece (*cf.* Podnos 1974).

understand the Scottish pipes to be sounding 'out of tune' because pipers often try and play tunes that are not developed for the pipes. Auld Lang Syne is a good example of this (Cannon 1988). Scottish pipes are based on a scale of A. As figure 5.1 illustrates though the Scottish pipe scale is not an equal temperament A major scale (as it plays G naturals); in the context of the major scale the Gs sound as flattened sevenths. So when pipers try and play a tune that is in an equal temperament A major scale the Gs sound 'wrong'. Cannon (1988) argues that these natural Gs are an essential feature in traditional 'Scottish' pipe tunes as are the slightly flattened C sharp and F sharp and the slightly sharpened D and Gs.

So instruments such as the Scottish pipe can potentially signify notions of 'Scottishness' in two interconnected ways. Firstly by the acoustic sound that they create, and secondly by the kinds of melodies that they are capable of producing. The instrument can constrain the kinds of sounds and melodies that can be articulated.

However, it is not just the instruments themselves that can signify musical expressions of 'Scottishness'. Often the style in which they are played is important. For example, respondents stated that the 'fiddle' was a 'Scottish' instrument. But the fiddle is an alternative description of the violin; they are the same instrument, but no one referred to violins as 'Scottish' instruments. At Celtic Connections I asked Billy, a fiddle maker why this was the case. He explained that it is because 'fiddles' are played differently to 'violins': -

⁸⁷ When, precisely pentatonic scales became favourable in Scotland does not appear to be

“...the fiddle you’re taught how to use the bow in a different way. That’s at a very basic level. Er... fiddle playing you make use of the bow, the same way as a guitarist would make use of the fingers. [...] It’s a dancing bow, whereas the violin is more based on tone production.”
(Billy).

So instruments can gain their distinctive sound not just by their technical capacities, but also in the styles in which they are played - this will be discussed in greater depth later in this chapter – but people did not always recognise instruments as being distinctively ‘Scottish’.

It is surprising how few people talked about instrumentation when they were discussing ideas of ‘Scottishness’. Although instrumentation came up at several points – some of which are outlined above – the ideas of language, accent, rhythm, melody and harmony that I discussed earlier tended to dominate people’s ideas about what made ‘Scottish’ music ‘Scottish’. Part of the reason why so few people linked instrumentation to notions of ‘Scottishness’ was that often people recognised that instruments were relatively universal. The following exchange by Kirsty and Diane makes this point quite well: -

NW “So did you think that there was anything Scottish about [Cirrus]⁸⁸ music then?”

R2 “Well... not to me. I mean OK, you can say that it’s got all the... all the prerequisites, it’s got the fiddle in there and it’s got the guy on the harmonica to give it a country feel.”

R1 “Yeah, but that still doesn’t make it Scottish.

[...]

What I think is like all instruments are universal [...] the only instrument that I would say is not universal is the bodhran, which they didn’t have

documented.

⁸⁸ Cirrus is a pseudonym for Tony’s band.

and so I mean it could have been anything. It could have been an American band or a European band or something.” (R1: Diane, R2: Kirsty).

For me, this exchange makes a significant point about the nature of ‘Scottish’ music. I have outlined many traits, characteristics and features that potentially allow people to recognise a piece of music as being ‘Scottish’. But just because one or more of these features - such as a particular instrument or the presence of Scots Snap - is recognisable does not necessarily mean that a piece of music will be experienced or understood to be ‘Scottish’. There are opportunities for debate over what makes a piece of ‘Scottish’ music ‘Scottish’. This is because, as the next section suggests labelling a piece of music as ‘Scottish’ can be a political statement. It can reflect a belief in what musical expressions of ‘Scottishness’ are or should be.

5.2 Categorising ‘Scottish’ Music

Bewildering arrays of adjectives are often used to describe and categorise musical performances. Folk, easy listening, ‘traditional’, soul, blues, urban, ‘Cuban’ and ‘Scottish’ are just a few that spring to mind. But what do these labels mean? What kind of sounds do they describe and what kinds of ideas and identities do they evoke?

What is ‘Scottish’ music is, of course, one of the key questions of my PhD research. When I was developing my research plan I looked in various British record stores to see if they had a ‘Scottish’ music section and, if so, what kinds of music were

labelled as being 'Scottish'. I found 'Scottish' music filed as subsections of 'folk', 'Celtic', 'nostalgia', 'traditional', 'easy listening' and 'world music' and 'Scottish' CDs contained performances that spanned a number of decades and a variety of musical styles. These include marches by military pipe bands, collections of fiddle tunes, 'popular' music hall pieces by artists like Andy Stewart and Jimmy Shand and collections of Gaelic songs. Sometimes more 'contemporary' additions by 'folk-rock' bands such as Runrig and Capercaillie and 'dance' artists like Shooglenifty and Salsa Celtica are also included. The list is seemingly endless, but the breadth of different musical styles and sounds that can be described as 'Scottish' is partially demonstrated by the variety of tunes that are featured on the accompanying CD⁸⁹.

The complicated nature of categorising music – and the reality that most music can be placed in numerous 'pigeon-holes' – raises questions about how useful labels such as 'Scottish' might be for describing musical performances. During interviews with musicians I always asked them how they would describe the kind of music that they perform. Many of them describe their music as 'Scottish' – amongst other things – but to make matters more complicated during the course of the interview terms like 'traditional', 'folk' and 'Celtic' are often used almost interchangeably with the term 'Scottish'. Further investigation highlights that musicians' inconsistent and interchanging use of the term 'Scottish' emphasises a *general* difficulty with attaching descriptive terms to their work for two reasons. Firstly, musicians often do not think that descriptive terms adequately represent the complexity of their work

⁸⁹ The musics featured on this CD are by no means exhaustive of the 'Scottish' genre. They merely serve to evoke certain 'Scottish' sounds that interviewees discuss. Appendix eight provides an accompanying discography to the CD.

and secondly, they do not recognise a clear distinction between the terms 'Scottish', 'Celtic', 'traditional' and 'folk'⁹⁰ as the quotations below demonstrate: -

Usefulness of descriptive terms?	
Labels are not necessarily useful for describing musical performances.	NW "So how would you describe the music that you play with [your band]? R [...] "How would I describe it? For me it's dance music. I mean other people would try and put a different moniker on it or whatever on it but... [...] Fuck, I don't know." NW "(Laughs) You hear, you know, labels like 'acid croft' and all that kind of..." R "Well, yeah, go for it, that'll do. Acid croft and what is it? Hypnofolkadelic? Celtic cantabile. Islander fuck knows. You know what I mean? Does it describe it? Listen to it and make up your own mind. It's just a sort of mish mash of ideas and styles". (Sebastian).
Musicians choose a label that allows them to fit into a 'desirable' genre Music does not always fit squarely within certain descriptive pigeon-holes	NW "...During my interviews a lot of people have used the terms folk, Celtic, traditional, 'Scottish' almost interchangeably and I was wondering are there any kind of differences between what you would call 'Celtic' music or 'Scottish' music or...? R "It's all the same thing you know. [...] ...people like to stick up barriers and they love to categorise everythin' you know... [...] ...I think people call it what they want, really I don't think they look into it and go "oh I'm a Celtic musician", I think they think "oh I think I'd quite like to be a Celtic musician, so I'll call it Celtic". And plus it's promoters and record companies that often make these labels as well, 'cos they're lookin' for somewhere to put their records or where to publicise... [...] Well I've always had trouble with that [...] I've usually had to put [my music] under traditional or Celtic, but it's not strictly traditional. It's not strictly Celtic and it's not strictly jazz. It's like... somewhere in the middle there." (Peter).

Musicians seem to be reticent about pinning descriptions on their music. Whilst promotional material published by record companies and promoters might confidently place musicians and their work within certain musical pigeon-holes, musicians were keen to distance themselves from these representations and to let their music speak for 'itself'; to go beyond representations. For example, over the

⁹⁰ This phenomenon is documented by Munro (1996) who outlines the uncertain definitions of the

years Celtic Connections has described Sebastian's music as 'hynofolkadelic'⁹¹ or 'acid croft'⁹². However, the rather casual manner in which Sebastian is happy to adopt almost any label suggests scepticism about processes of representation and categorisation. Similarly, Peter states that his music is often pigeon-holed as 'traditional' or 'Celtic' but that it cannot really be categorised so easily as it falls in-between categories.

Part of the reason for Sebastian's, and other musicians' reluctance to label their music is that they often do not recognise a clear distinction between musical terms. For example, Peter suggests that the boundaries between 'Scottish', 'Celtic', 'folk' and 'traditional' music are not clear-cut. Instead Peter argues that descriptive labels often reflect more about the musicians and their desire to be associated with certain people and genres than the sound of the music itself.

These quotations make a significant point about the nature of musical categorisation and representation. Musicians seem to align themselves with certain musical categories (or representations) for promotional reasons, or because they want to be associated with a specific group of musicians. Such moves might be made in light of economic considerations. For example, if a particular style of music, such as 'Celtic' music is popular and there is a significant demand for recorded and/or live performances of this music then it makes economic sense for musicians to market their music as 'Celtic' in order to make it more marketable. However, when it comes

terms 'traditional' and 'folk'.

⁹¹ Celtic Connections souvenir brochure 1995.

⁹² Celtic Connections souvenir brochure 1996.

to thinking about the music *per se*, musical categories tend to be less useful because they inadequately describe the kinds of sounds that people can expect to hear. These sounds fit more comfortably in what might be termed the 'non-representational' realm. In other words, musical sounds by their very nature resist textual representation (*cf.* Phelan 1993 and 1997, Pratt 2000 and Smith 1994). As Sebastian suggests people need to listen to the music in order to gain a real understanding of what a performance is about.

This sentiment raises the familiar philosophical conundrum concerning the relationship between ontology and representation. This issue has been raised and addressed in a number of intellectual contexts by writers as varied as Bourdieu (1984), Castoriadis (1987), Foucault (1972), Phelan (1993), Rorty (1999), Schopenhauer [1819], S.J. Smith (1997) and Thrift (1996). In the context of my research though I am interested in the relationship between musical performances as doings and becomings; creative moments of (sometimes non-linguistic) expression and their role as (re)presentations of national identity.

Empirical evidence seems to suggest that a tension exists between practices of music making and the ways in which the creative 'products' of these practices are (re)presented (see Phelan 1993 and S.J. Smith 1997). So far this tension has centred on concerns about the conceptual usefulness of particular descriptive terms. But in the context of 'Scottish' music I argue that there is also a politics to labelling and (re)presenting musical performances. This is because labelling specific musical

performances as 'Scottish' can reflect particular politicised beliefs in what 'Scottishness' is or should be.

From interviews with musicians and audience members it seems that issues of representation - and, more specifically, the problems of (re)presenting - lie at the heart of my interest in musical expressions of 'Scottishness'. Spivak (1988) reminds us that there are two notions of representation that work together within practices of representing. The first is representation as '(re)presentation' or 'speaking of' and the second is representation as 'speaking for' in a political sense (Spivak 1988). As I demonstrated above musicians are wary about using terms such as 'Scottish' to describe their work because they are perceived to inadequately (re)present their work. But some musicians are also wary of describing their work as 'Scottish' without further qualification because of perceived negative connotations with the term; they are cautious about having their work *represented* by notions of 'Scottishness' *per se*. Here, musicians demonstrate problems with using the term 'Scottish' because they believe that the term evokes particular musical representations of 'Scottishness' that they dislike and feel are not representative (in both senses of the term) of either the kinds of music that they perform or of 'authentic' 'Scottish' music⁹³. As I will demonstrate shortly, interviewees frequently make distinctions between what they define as 'authentic' or 'proper' 'Scottish' music and what they regard to be 'popular', mass market, 'touristy' 'Scottish' music.

⁹³ James (1947) and Rorty (1999) argue that what we know about the world is formed through the continuous process of knowledge production. Therefore it makes little sense to talk about representations in fixed ways. However, the musicians comments suggest that they perceive representations to be relatively fixed representations of 'reality' rather than as tools of understanding as Parker and Sedgwick (1995) suggest.

Before I go on to outline these quotations I need to briefly explain what is meant by musical authenticity.

There are two main ways in which ideas of authenticity are discussed in the (ethno)musicology literature. The first (and most popular) refers to the 'faithful' performance of 'historical' musical texts (*cf.* Boorman 1999; Butt 2002; Godlovitch 1999; Kivy 1995; Sharpe 1991). In other words, it is argued that 'authentic' musical performances are those that closely follow composers' musical intentions and are faithful to performing practices that the composers would have been familiar with⁹⁴.

The second concerns ethical issues that surround the reproduction and recording of 'indigenous' or 'minority' musics by a global(ising) 'world music' industry. Here authenticity is attached to the idea of a faithfulness by record producers to the ideas of 'roots' and evolving traditions that are constituted through 'indigenous' musics (Keil and Feld 1994; Wallis and Malm 1984). This brief exploration of musical authenticity seems to suggest that although there are obvious contextual differences in the two sets of literatures outlined here, what they both stress is an *authenticity of practice*.

But I argue that concerns over authenticity are about more than this. Utilising ideas of authenticity is about people claiming authority over performance practices and using ideas of authenticity as a benchmark of 'good'/'bad' and 'positive'/'negative' performances (Kivy 1995). It is about the use of (subjective) ideas of 'authenticity'

⁹⁴ See Kivy (1995) for a more comprehensive discussion of historical authenticity.

to legitimise the (re)production of specific sounds and (re)presentations that are perceived to be (politically) favourable. In the context of my research such favourable (re)presentations are connected to processes of building and maintaining nations. This discussion of authenticity develops the work of A.D. Smith (1997) and Allan and Thompson (1999) who identify that ideas of 'authenticity' are significant in the promotion and legitimisation of certain, historically embedded, constructions of nation. Thinking about authenticity through the context of musical performances not only emphasises the notion that ideas of authenticity are significant in the legitimisation of nations. It also suggests that it is through (everyday) *practices* (of various kinds) that ideas of authenticity are created, negotiated and, ultimately, gain their significance in processes of nation building (*cf.* Billig 1995, Edensor 2002 and Handler 1988).

As the quotations overleaf demonstrate a number of interviewees distinguished between 'proper', 'authentic' 'Scottish' music and 'popular' 'inauthentic' 'Scottish' music.

'proper' Vs. 'mass market' 'Scottish' music	
Need to distinguish between 'music hall' and 'authentic' Scottishness	"I mean you've got to distinguish between music hall Scottishness and authentic Scottishness in Scotland. A lot of Scots have never heard Scottish music other than the Alexander Brothers and the White Heather Club kind of thing you know." (Archie).
Never heard 'proper' Scottish music during her youth. Hated the music hall style 'Scottish' music	"...right up until when I was nineteen I thought Scottish music was awful, because I'd never heard what I call proper Scottish music. All I'd heard was things like Andy Stewart and Moira Anderson ² and Kenneth MacKellar and they're kind of... they're semi-classical, though not Andy Stewart ² ... [...], semi-trained, very correct, you know (Mary sings a warbling imitation) that kind of thing. And the music that they sang was more like music hall stuff which I absolutely hated when I was younger and I just thought oh God why does anyone want to be involved in that." (Mary).
People think 'traditional' music is the music hall and White Heather Club sound	NW "So what would you say is the kind of authentic Scottish..." R1 "I don't think there is. I think there's just that many different styles [...]" R4 "Yeah, 'cos the dance band and the tartan thing all got started years ago. It was the second world war that that kind of came off." R1 "Jimmy Shand" R4 "So traditional music's... folk music's certainly with bagpipes and fiddles and all that. That's the real tradition, whereas people see traditional music as (sings) 'come in, come in, it's nice to see you.'" NW "Is that the White Heather stuff?" R4 "An' all that, yeah... that's quite modern actually." (R1: Alex, R4: Callum).

Many respondents expressed real dislike for particular (re)presentations of 'Scottishness'. In particular, there seemed to be an aversion to the kinds of 'Scottishness' that are (re)presented by what some people refer to as the "'Scottish' music hall sound'. Mary and Archie suggest that this sound is not 'proper' or 'authentic' 'Scottish' music and Callum implies that there is a significant difference between the (re)presentations of 'Scottishness' performed through 'traditional' 'Scottish' folk music and those forwarded by the more 'modern' music hall sound.

The ('Scottish') music hall sound first emerged in the 1920s and 1930s but, ironically, it became popular during the 1950s folksong revival (Munro 1996).

Increased interest in 'Scottish' 'traditional' and 'folk' music was met with the development of a number of radio and television programmes that showcased musicians from all over Scotland. A number of rather serious and scholarly radio documentaries on 'traditional' and 'folk' music were featured on radio but these were contrasted with the rise of what Munro (1996) calls 'Scottish 'popular' music'. Here Munro refers to a range of works including some of the 'Scottish' music hall acts identified by respondents in the above quotations; Kenneth MacKellor, Moira Anderson, Andy Stewart and the Alexander Brothers along with groups such as Jimmy Shand's dance band and various pipe bands. This 'popular' 'Scottish' music, and with it the 'Scottish' music hall sound, was promoted largely by television shows like the BBC's White Heather Club⁹⁵ and STV's Thingamajig (MacNaughton 1980). Shows like these were established as a partial response to the increased interest in 'Scottish' folksong. But, unlike those musicians who appeared on the more scholarly broadcasts, 'Scottish' music hall artists such as the Alexander Brothers, have been targeted by some interviewees and commentators (*cf.* Devine 1999, McCrone *et al* 1995 and Munro 1996) as promoting an undesirable, politically 'negative' brand of 'Scottish' music that has little connection to what they perceive to be 'authentic' 'Scottish' culture. This is because, as Devine explains in the following quote 'Scottish' music hall acts created: -

“...the sentimentalised and tartanized caricature of the Scot as the 'Bonnie Hieland Laddie', resplendent in kilt and plaid and mouthing comic songs, couthy sayings and jokes.” (1999: 360).

⁹⁵ The White Heather Club was first broadcast by the BBC 7th May 1958 (see <http://www.bbc.co.uk/thenandnow/history/1950sh5.shtml> accessed on 4th January 2003).

Music hall performances such as that described above have a political significance. This is because, as I argued in chapter three, identity formation is based on the performance of repetitive stylised acts (Butler 1999). Therefore if this kind of image of 'Scottish' identity is popularly performed, then it becomes entrenched in people's minds as a (re)presentation of 'Scottishness'. What is more, if such performances of 'Scottish' culture and identity are more popular than 'alternative' performances, then the music hall image of 'Scottishness' can become a dominant (re)presentation of 'Scottish' national identity.

From the ways in which some respondents were so keen to differentiate between 'proper' and 'inauthentic' 'Scottish' music, it seems that the music hall image of 'Scottishness' has, indeed, had a significant impact upon people's understandings of 'Scottishness'. What is more I think that some respondents were concerned that I would think that 'Scottishness' was tied up with music hall performances; that 'Scottishness' was represented by music hall. The following quotation is taken from a discussion of 'Scottish' 'traditional' music, where Angus obviously felt the need to make it clear to me that he was not referring to the music hall sound. He said: -

"...so the Scottish traditional music er... not the Alexander Brothers⁹ crap, but... Oh it had its market, it was very popular, but it was very much a sort of unionist imposition. This was the Scots pretending to be Scottish for the unionist market in my opinion. You know Thingamajig and things like that. You won't remember Thingamajig. It was a terrible programme on Scottish Television years ago. [...] Quite grotesque er... it's embarrassing, but it had its market [...] ...I imagine that people who are performing now are pretty embarrassed about the older stuff." (Angus).

Angus takes the debate on 'Scottish' musical authenticity one stage further by arguing that the music hall sound is a unionist imposition. Angus implies that the music hall sound is inherently inauthentic because it involves 'Scottish' music hall acts 'pretending' to be 'Scottish' for a unionist market. So, in music hall Scots are not performing 'Scottishness' *per se*, rather they are performing a politically non-threatening form of 'Scottishness' – indeed a caricature of 'Scottishness' as Devine (1999) argues – that is created to please/entertain a British audience.

Angus was the only interviewee who described the music hall sound as a unionist imposition, but this idea has been forwarded by McCrone *et al* (1995) and, most forcefully, by Nairn (1981). Indeed Nairn (1981) argues that Scottish music hall is inextricably linked with (re)presentations of kailyardism and tartanry which, as I outlined in chapter two were adopted as the politically 'acceptable' face of 'Scottishness' after the Act of Union in 1707. Indeed, Nairn argues that: -

“...Kailyard is popular in Scotland. It is recognizably intertwined with that prodigious array of *Kitsch* symbols, slogans, ornaments, banners, war-cries, knick-knacks, music-hall heroes, icons, conventional sayings and sentiments (not a few of them 'pithy') which have for so long resolutely defended the name of 'Scotland' to the world. [...] the [vast tartan monster] trots along doucely enough, on a lead. But it is something else to be with it. [...] How intolerably vulgar! What unbearable, crass, mindless, philistinism!” (1981: 162).

It is not just out of a loathing of kitsch that Nairn makes this impassioned outburst against kailyard representations of Scotland. Rather, Nairn (1981), writing prior to the establishment of a devolved parliament, argues that cultural expressions such as the music hall sound go against any nationalist aspirations that Scotland might have

of gaining its political independence (*cf.* McCrone et al 1995). This is because expressions of 'Scottishness' such as the music hall sound might appear to signify a 'distinctive' 'Scottish' identity and culture (which is a crucial pre-requisite of separatist politics), but this particular 'identity' is a product of Scotland's adaptation to its union with England. Therefore it cannot easily be used as the basis for nationalistic politics.

From this brief discussion then it seems that labelling music with descriptive terms such as 'Scottish' is problematic for two reasons. Firstly, there are doubts over the ability of descriptive terms to accurately connote musical expressions and secondly there is a politics to labelling performances as 'Scottish' with both musicians and audience members distinguishing between 'proper' and 'authentic' notions of 'Scottishness' and its 'inauthentic' counterparts. However, something is being forgotten here. Another reason why musical performances are difficult to label and categorise is because musical performances are not events where notions of 'Scottishness' are (re)presented in clear and straightforward ways that are universally understood to be 'Scottish' (*cf.* Parker and Sedgwick 1995 and S.J. Smith 2000). This is because ideas of 'Scottishness' can be subconsciously performed and consciously played with in creative ways during musical performances. Indeed, as this next section will illustrate musical performances are events where notions of 'Scottishness' are created, developed, negotiated and contested; as Thrift (1996) would suggest they are timespaces where representations gain meaning.

5.3 Playing with 'Scottishness'

All of the performers that I interviewed describe various ways in which they play with notions of 'Scottishness'. As the quotations below suggest none of them play (with) 'Scottish' music for overtly political reasons; the ways in which their music is political is less obvious, fitting more squarely in the world of 'banal' politics that Billig (1996) describes. Musical elaborations on notions of 'Scottishness' appear to come from three sources. First, as Tony suggests in the quotation below some musicians play with 'Scottishness' in order to gain access to new markets; to simultaneously create and fill a market demand for a 'different' sound: -

"To be honest, I think what we're doing it's... it's almost like a mainstream pop, but I mean it's got a very, it has a Scottish or Celtic thread. [...] I think we're just playing what we feel like playing. There's no agenda with it."

[...]

"I'm working on a project just now which is er... [...] well the aim is to get for a start, is to get some stuff on vinyl as well as CD and try and get a couple of tracks into clubs. Not just in Scotland, but you know work on some people in London. Stuff that can stand up alongside the chart stuff, but has little elements in it that are quite 'Scottish', it may be the phrase of a pipe tune or perhaps a vocal or something like that." (Tony).

Second, 'Scottish' tunes are also played with in order to fulfil the demands of an audience. In other words – and as Jimmy describes in the following quotation – 'Scottish' music is played with and adapted to suit the social context and setting in which the musicians are performing.

"The likes of T in the Park, because they're a young crowd they really just want thrash, they want everythin' happenin', you couldn't get away with a wee simple, straightforward jig. It's gotta be a hundred mile an hour jig and really go for it with the drummer givin' it laldy. You know

the Scottish sort o'... the Scottish standard dance band thing goes right out of the window and it's really rock, it's a rock beat. You know it's really a rock beat to a Scottish dance, or ceilidh music. (Jimmy).

However, even without economic/market influences or the 'demands' of an audience, musicians create (relatively) 'new' and 'different' notions of 'Scottishness'. This is because musicians never simply reproduce tunes; their performances are always creative. This is the third way in which musicians elaborate on or play with notions of 'Scottishness' in performances. As the quotations overleaf suggest musicians consciously draw on a range of musical influences to create sounds that are 'new', exciting and 'different; sounds which satisfy their creative desires.

Creating 'new' and 'different' Scottish musics

<p>Brought up in the traditional genre, but influenced by popular music</p> <p>Got 'turned on' by Latin syncopations and now marries this with traditional tunes</p> <p>Uses the Latin beats to bring out the best of the tune</p>	<p>"What I do is because I've been brought up in that genre of kinda traditional Scottish music. And then inevitably you buy a Prince record or something and it completely blows your mind and Stevie Wonder and fucking easy kind of, and I got really just turned on sort of... of rhythm stuff you know and a lot of Latin syncopations and er... basically now it's kind of a marriage of the two. [...] And so it is a case of like hearing something that is kinda, not necessarily traditional, it might be a contemporary tune, let's say a fiddle tune and say well how can we bring the best of this out. I mean actually, to be honest, a lot of the time it's already there. You listen to a good pipe tune and it's all there in the drones and stuff, the way they're kinda liftin' off and come back again brrrr aaah, brrrr aaah, brrrr aaah, brrrr aaah, brrrr aaah, brrrr aaah. So actually the rhythmic stuff's all happenin', but usually it seems to me, quite under-subscribed." (Sebastian).</p>
<p>Started off doing traditional but is now an 'explorer'; a 'fusioner'</p>	<p>"I started off doin' traditional, but ma main interest really is fusion. [...] ...most of ma fusion work so far has been done with er... folk and jazz. I've got lots of different ones, I've got folk and classical... [...] So that's where my main interests are [...] I'm an explorer really. I really like to see what else is going on. So that's probably how you'd explain me... a fusioner! (Peter).</p>
<p>Music has an art song element, but isn't done in the art song style.</p> <p>Influenced by traditional, popular and jazz singers</p>	<p>"I could characterise music in certain ways, but what you have to realise is that when we set out we didn't say let's make this kind of music. [...] as far as songs go there's quite a strong literary element in the songs. And er... certainly with doing stuff by Burns and Souter and so on. It has a sort of, what people call art song element in there, but it's not done in the art song style, it's sort of done in the style it's performed by. I think from [the other singer's] point of view listening to traditional singers and popular and jazz singers so it's er... it's quite a personal statement." (Martin).</p>
<p>Boundaries between different musics have been broken down.</p> <p>Collaborations between different kinds of musicians create different sounds</p>	<p>"...what's been happening is that the boundaries between the different musics have been broken down. [...] [For example someone] from the Civic Halls Chamber is on the album with Alyth McCormack [...] which is a purely Gaelic album, it's not purely traditional, but it is all Gaelic, mostly Gaelic songs. [...] Ma boyfriend's goin' over to Norway with Catriona MacDonald, who's a Shetland fiddler and she's got with her... She's got ma boyfriend who's a drummer in the rocky side of things and [someone] who's a jazz bass player and [another guy] who's a jazz piano player, but he also has connections to the traditional world himself." (Mary).</p>

What strikes me about the conversations that I had with the musicians is the way in which they all (to varying degrees) experiment with the music that they perform.

Although most of the musicians anchor their performances in the 'traditional' genre they use other musical influences such as jazz (Peter), and Latin beats (Sebastian) to both bring out the best of and to do something different with, the 'Scottish' 'traditional' genre. Often there is no agenda behind these creative practices; it is just the outcome of listening to and experimenting with a variety of music (Martin). But the 'outcome' of these performances seems to be that musicians are creating more diverse and, potentially, more socially inclusive, 'hybrid' notions of 'Scottishness'.

This experimentation with 'fusion', Mary suggests, partly comes from a recent breaking down of barriers in Scotland between different styles of music. As she explains classical musicians now perform alongside 'traditional' artists whilst rock and jazz artists are breaking out onto the 'traditional' 'Scottish' scene. Such collaborations increase the opportunities for the development of 'new' and 'different' 'Scottish' music. Thinking about this 'new' 'Scottish' music raises two interrelated questions. Firstly, what form (or forms) does this 'new' 'Scottish' music take and secondly, to what extent do people understand it to be 'Scottish'.

There were many occasions where myself and audience members recognised performances where musicians played with 'Scottishness'. Some examples of this are featured overleaf: -

Examples of 'new' ('Scottish?') music forms

Blending of 'Scottish' 'traditional' and 'house' music styles	"[We went] to see Martyn Bennett ² [...] Unfortunately he was going very much for the house music sound, sort of Scottish meets sort of house music and, in the end we went home because we just weren't enjoying it. But other people were. [...] It was very electronic sounding and I thought oh, considering what a fantastic traditional musician he is, it a rather boring sound you know. (Kate)
Fusion of skirling pipes, a bodhran and an electric pulse works	"So... how to describe The Cast's music? Erm... I like it. Scottish traditional, but they do some experimental stuff. [...] nothing in the line of really experimental, you know modern types of thing. There was one [by Shooglenifty ²] it's got this sort of pulse, electronic pulse in it and er... obviously they're just taking whatever modern thing it says, I don't know how they generate it and you've got the pipes skirling away [...] the fusing of this modern stuff with the pipes with presumably a bodhran in the background and it works." (Angus).
'Scottish' style that incorporates a 'funky' double bass line, and hippy style hand percussion.	"Four musicians come on stage in grungy style clothes. Double bass, electric guitar, fiddle, and hand percussion ('bongo' drums, rain stick...). [...] Instrumental pieces feel quite 'Scottish' almost a kind of reel, but the double bass gives the whole thing quite a funky/jazzy edge. [...] Definite 'Scottish' elements – the accent of singers and the fiddle, plays quite lively 'Scottish' reel type melodies. But the hand percussion gives it a kind of hippy/alternative feel. Sounds a bit like an upbeat Everything But the Girl but with a 'Scottish' folky, hippy twist." (Extract of performance notes from Tequila Mockingbird).
Conversation between 'Scottish' fiddle reels and Moroccan/Arabic theme.	"Huge band: 2 singers, guitarist, 3 fiddles, synthesiser, drums, whistle player, accordionist. [...] Piece 2 ² Starts with synth loop. Whistle comes in with a kind of Celtic flourish. Other instruments join in, electric guitar, hand percussion, bass guitar, french sounding guitar. Overall music has a kind of Moroccan/Arabic feel to it. Fiddle reel bursts through change of mood, very 'Scottish' traditional sounding, but still accompanied with drum loop and electric bass. Conversation between these two themes. [...] Vocal loop comes in. Scottish voice sample says 'it's Scotland, it's summertime, it's freezin''. (Extract of performance notes from 'Cirrus').
'Jazz piping' was like nothing heard before	"[Roddy McLeod] was absolutely sensational. He just walked on in an old T-shirt and jeans and... it was like jazz piping, I mean he wasn't playing pipes as I've seen any body else play, even the other Scottish pipers there. It was just absolutely fantastic." (Charlie).

These musical descriptions suggest some of the ways in which musicians play with ideas of 'Scottishness' in musical performances. Sometimes acts like 'Cirrus' used

modern music technology such as sampling and drum loops⁹⁶ in their music making (see also the quotations by Angus and Kate). At other times, as Kate and the notes from Tequila Mockingbird's and 'Cirrus' performances suggest 'Scottish' style melodies and instrumentation were mixed with other musical styles such as 'Moroccan' sounding melodies and harmonies, house and jazz/funk influences. Finally as Charlie states, playing with 'Scottishness' might be achieved through simply playing a 'Scottish' instrument in a different way.

As the previous section highlighted musical descriptions are not always the most useful or helpful ways of understanding or appreciating musical sounds. It is for this reason that I have included the track by 'Cirrus' that I describe as an (albeit limited) example of some of the 'new' 'Scottish' music that was heard at Celtic Connections⁹⁷. However, they do illustrate that musical performances such as these create timespaces where potentially 'new' and 'different' notions of 'Scottishness' are performed. Drawing on those reconceptualisations of the present that I discussed in chapter three, musical performances are timespaces that are 'pregnant' with creative possibility as meanings are negotiated, challenged and (re)defined (*cf.* Deleuze and Guattari 1987 and Dewsbury 2000).

The above respondents all recognised the performances that they describe to be somehow linked to ideas of 'Scottishness'. Therefore it might seem that, indeed,

⁹⁶ Sampling refers to a practice where samples of recorded instrumentation or vocals are downloaded onto a computer and replayed (often as a repetitive motif) during a performance. Similarly drum loops are recorded samples of drum rhythms (usually electronically generated) that are repetitively played, creating a seamless rhythmic background.

musical performances such as these were potentially timespaces for creating 'new' and 'different' notions of 'Scottishness'. However, in interviews it became apparent that just because somebody recognises 'Scottish' elements in the music does mean that they will understand the performance *per se* to be 'Scottish'. For example, Kirsty was present at Cirrus' concert that I described above. However, where I thought their music sounded 'Scottish' Kirsty thought that it was not 'Scottish' at all. She said: -

“[Cirrus' performance] had all the prerequisites to be Scottish, but it didn't manage it at all. [...] Even the way that the er... the women sang was not Scottish. I mean you know there's the Scottish lilt in a lot of the traditional songs [...] And you can tell when that's Scottish because it has a Scottish sound it has things like... what do you call it? Scotch snap, whatever it's called, which is like, you know, like how bagpipes start up and stuff like that. It's all just typical features, but their voices did not have any kinda Scottish thing about them at all. They could have been singing anything.” (Kirsty).

Kirsty's comments resonate with the discussion on authenticity that I outlined earlier. Cirrus' performance had all the pre-requisites to be 'Scottish' but the way in which they performed, their performance style, was not perceived to be 'Scottish'. Here, as earlier, authenticity is located in practice and for Kirsty the benchmark of 'Scottishness' is based on 'traditional' performance styles.

Tradition was also influential in Angus' understanding of 'Scottishness'. Earlier in the interview Angus had stated that Shooglenifty was a band that played 'Scottish' music, but that they played with 'Scottishness' in their performances. He said: -

⁹⁷ I would have liked to have included more examples, but I could not acquire a copy of Tequila Mockingbird's album – which is not on general release – and respondents were not familiar enough

“you’ve got your Shooglenifty’s⁵ and folk like that doing something new, something a bit different er... but you’ve still got an element of the tradition there, er... I’m not sure how far people will be able to take it. Maybe they can invent new instruments or something, but the pipes, there’s only so much you can do with a bag o’ air and some drones. So... it’ll find its own borders [...]. There’s a finite variation of noise that can be generated unless you get synthesisers out and synthesisers ain’t anything traditional at all...” (Angus).

Whilst Angus appreciates that bands like Shooglenifty are trying to do something ‘new’ and ‘different’ there is a line that should not be crossed in his opinion. In this case his notion of ‘Scottishness’ is limited by the kinds of instruments that can be used. He believes that there is a finite variation of noise that can be created unless people use instruments like synthesisers, which he does not regard as being ‘traditional’. This is relevant because Angus believes that notions of tradition are important in understanding ‘Scottishness’. In order for a piece of music to be ‘Scottish’ then, for Angus, it has to link to ideas of tradition.

So although ‘new’ and ‘different’ ‘Scottish’ music can be created, in order for it to be recognised as being ‘Scottish’ it cannot be absolutely ‘new’. It seems that it has to have links to ideas of ‘tradition’ and past articulations of ‘Scottishness’. Bell (1999) and Butler (1997) argue that ideas of identity are always (partially) constructed from conceptions of the past. But my research suggests that common sense understandings of ‘Scottishness’ are based on links to the past that are perceived to be explicit.

with the performances to be able to talk about specific tracks.

At first glance the ways in which ideas of tradition are used by some respondents seem to suggest that 'tradition' is conceptualised as a stable and fixed phenomenon. However, this is not the case. As previous quotations suggest many respondents appreciated the fact that musicians played with 'traditional' notions of 'Scottishness'. They may not have always personally liked what they did with the tradition (as Kate's comments about Martyn Bennett testify) but they were not adverse to creative developments of tradition *per se*. Indeed, one respondent, Fraser, recognised that conceptions of tradition have always changed over time: -

"...music evolves all the time. I mean... 'the tradition' as they call it now would have been different a hundred years ago. It moves with the times, if it doesn't move with the times it dies." (Fraser).

So, respondents use concepts of tradition as a benchmark for what musical expressions of 'Scottishness' sound like. Even though most respondents were not quite so vociferous as Kirsty and Angus about the limits to their understanding of 'Scottish' music, they all (often implicitly) demonstrated that they share similar limits to their understanding of 'Scottishness'. This is because respondents rarely described artists as being 'Scottish' that did not use 'obvious', 'traditional' markers of 'Scottishness', such as certain instruments, languages, melodies and harmonies in some form⁹⁸. But if tradition is a dynamic and evolving concept, then how can it be used as a benchmark of 'Scottishness'? Surely, it could be argued that any musical expression could be 'Scottish' because it is the development of a new 'Scottish' tradition. This clearly is not the case. What is significant here is the rate at which

ideas of 'tradition' and therefore 'Scottishness' develops. This was explained to me in an interview with Angus. He said: -

“...you can mutate tradition as long as you keep the tradition whole. So you can say this is what we're mutating. You can't sort of take what's there and say, well we're not going to do it that way anymore, we're going to do it this way and you can't... you're not going to hear the old way of doing things.” (Angus).

This quotation suggests that tradition (and therefore 'Scottishness') can evolve, but it must evolve in ways of doing that are familiar and are perceived to have links to the past. So ideas of 'tradition' seem to constrain the rate and extent to which 'Scottishness' can develop over time. In other words ideas of 'tradition' and 'Scottishness' have to develop at a rate whereby they never lose contact (completely) with past ways of doing and understanding. This is true, but what is important in the context of my research is that traditions *are* dynamic, they can change and the momentum for this is performance. By asking people to reflect on 'Scottish' sounds I recover what traditional articulations of 'Scottishness' are, but by asking them to discuss 'performances' of these sounds I connect with the momentum that takes these 'traditions' on and develops them. Familiar ways of doing and knowing can and do change over time and this, in part, is a product of the creative work that musicians engage in. Peter illustrates this point overleaf in an explanation of the development of 'traditional' tunes. He said: -

⁹⁸ For example, the only performance at T in the Park, apart from those who performed in the ceilidh tent, that people understood to be 'Scottish' was Travis. This is an 'anomaly' that I will explore in greater depth in chapter seven.

"I mean the thing is one fiddler learns [a tune], I mean for so many years they weren't written down anyway so someone comes along and your tune's bound to change, you know, just you put your own little bit of style and then, even if it's only like an extra couple of notes, the person that learns it will learn these extra couple of notes and put in their extra couple of notes and from that the possibility of the tune can change from the original is massive. There's nothing wrong with that. It's great. I think that's called tradition." (Peter).

Peter suggests that quite radical changes in tunes can occur over a relatively long period of time. The cumulative effect of small changes in melody (which are the products of practices of creative music making) can be quite considerable.

I argue that this quotation encapsulates quite nicely the ways in which musical performances create, negotiate and challenge ideas of 'Scottishness'. As Thrift (1996) and Williams (1977) argue the social world is constantly in formation. Therefore it is through practice that people formulate understandings of phenomena such as 'Scottishness'. My research supports these ideas by demonstrating that ideas of 'Scottishness' are not fixed but are both dynamic and heterogeneous (*cf.* S.J. Smith 2000). However, the heterogeneity and dynamic potential of 'Scottishness' is constrained by ideas of 'tradition', which, whilst not fixed do develop and change at such a pace so that ideas of tradition never lose their connection with the past.

All of this raises a number of questions about the role that 'Scottishness' plays in people's lives. The ways in which ideas of 'tradition' shape and inform people's conceptions of 'Scottishness' suggest to me that 'Scottishness' may be being constructed in such a way that it fulfils certain needs in people. Many respondents thought that dynamic notions of 'Scottishness' were exciting and desirable, yet they

also suggested that 'Scottish' musical performances were valuable precisely because they allowed them to create links to a national culture that they feel connected to. 'Scottish' music, as a distinctive cultural form reified the notion that they belong and are part of a unique national community. This idea will be developed further in chapter seven.

In this chapter I have highlighted some of the ways in which ideas of 'Scottishness' are articulated through musical performances. However, musical performances are not simply vehicles for (re)producing musical expressions of 'Scottishness'. They are also timespaces where musicians and audience members forge social relations with each other through practices of musicking. I will explore this idea further in the next chapter where I will think more closely about the kinds of timespaces that musical performances create. Here I will argue that musical performances constitute timespaces where 'Scottishness' can be performed emotionally and where the emotional dimension of social relations is enhanced. In particular, I will argue that people can experience social relations in musical performances that are perceived to be intimate. I argue that this characteristic of musical performances is significant in processes of national identity formation as it allows people to experience themselves as intimately connected to people whom they perceive to be 'like themselves'. In other words it provides the context through which people can forge the psychological (or rather emotional) bonds that Connor (1993) argues are so important in the tenacity and power of ideas of nation, nationalism and national identity.

Chapter Six

Experiencing ('Scottish') Musical Timespaces

“Trying to capture a live gig on tape is tremendously difficult. Aside from the technical problems (of differing acoustics, feedback etc) there's the problem of capturing those special moments when real electricity hangs on the air. The vibe. The moment. The points where you and your audience absolutely meet and take the atmosphere (& the music) somewhere else.” (Weller 2001: 3).

This chapter explores the ways in which musical performances ‘work’. It examines more closely the ‘doings’ of musical performances; the ways in which they are ‘performed’ and experienced. Perhaps most importantly though, this chapter explores two interrelated ideas that I outlined in chapter three. The first is the idea that musical performances constitute particular timespaces (*cf.* May and Thrift 2001) where people can potentially rework, revise and (re-)form senses of self, identity, others and (national) community. The second concerns the ways in which musical performances constitute timespaces that invite different ways of being, knowing and understanding (*cf.* S.J. Smith 2000). Taken together these sets of ideas move my argument one step closer to an account of how and why emotional bonds and national identity are so closely connected; it moves the discussion towards an account of the affective politics of nation.

Drawing on participant sensing notes and interviews taken during and after Celtic Connections and T in the Park I will explore these two ideas in more detail. My

reasons for doing this are twofold. Firstly, as I explained in chapter three, there is a need for a better understanding of how musical performances (as creative practices) actually 'work'. As I argued earlier, too often studies of musical performances are reduced to either being 'done' things - where the author dissects, at a distance, musical performances to various ends (*cf.* Cohen 1995, Halfacree and Kitchin 1996, McLeay 1997 and Román-Velázquez 1999) - or they treat performances as phenomena that are seen rather than sensed and 'felt' in various ways. In other words, much of the work that has been carried out on musical performances has been focused on musical 'images' - scores and lyrics - and not on the performances as they sound. In this chapter I attempt to redress this imbalance by engaging in a more 'holistic' study of musical performances as embodied, sensory experiences.

However, whilst I think that it is important to gain a clearer understanding of how musical performances 'work' this is not my sole motivation for exploring the 'doing' of musical performances. Indeed, as I stated earlier, the primary motivation for my exploration of musical performances is to understand how they might constitute timespaces where people can (emotionally) express and experience multiple forms of 'Scottishness'. Indeed, my main reason for wanting to understand how musical performances 'work' is because they are a useful vehicle for studying the nature and significance of those emotional bonds that make nationalism and people's attachment to the concept of nation so powerful. If I can understand both the contexts in which people emotionally experience their national identity *and* the nature of these feelings, then I will be able to gain a better grasp of how particular emotional experiences 'work' to legitimate and support the ideology of nationalism. This belief develops

Connor's (1993) argument that music is a 'trigger' to nonrational attachments to nation. I am using a study of musical performances to better understand how people practice and 'do' their national identities: how they 'make' and experience a (perceived) bond with a national community.

In order to achieve these goals it is necessary to explore, in depth, specific timespaces of musical performance. My aim then, is to investigate *how* particular timespaces of musical performance are created, sustained, and emotionally experienced in order to explore the ways in which they constitute lived expressions and experiences of 'Scottishness'.

There are many different factors that come together to constitute the timespaces of musical performances. In some ways it is impossible to tease out and talk about these factors individually as they are so intertwined and interdependent. However, in order to understand the 'doing' of musical performances it is necessary to unpack and work through the myriad of relationships that are constituted through the sensory and communicative processes that create musical performances.

I attempt to outline and study the 'doing' of musical performances by thinking about the ways in which these events are set up, performed and engaged with. I begin this study by outlining the background to people's participation at the two festivals. Here I focus on the motivating factors that led both performers and audiences to attend Celtic Connections and T in the Park. Then, in section 6.2 I move on to explore the preparatory activities that are undertaken by both musicians and audience members.

Here I argue that activities that are engaged in before entering the timespaces of musical performances – such as socialising, preparing set lists, and rehearsing - potentially 'set the scene' for the kinds of musical timespaces that are created. This journey into the timespaces of musical performances is then taken a step further in section 6.3 where respondents' describe the shift in thinking and being that they experience as they enter into musical timespaces.

The rest of the chapter then explores what these musical timespaces are and how they work. Section 6.4 describes some of the practices that performers engage with to create, maintain and sustain the social relations that constitute musical performances. In addition, I also discuss how experiences of musical performances and their constitutive social relations might be captured and studied in the research process. The final two sections then develop the exploration of how musical performances 'work' by firstly explaining in section 6.5 what happens when performances are perceived to not be successful. This section is then contrasted in the final part of the chapter that explores experiences of musical performances that were particularly enjoyable and effective. Many of my interview respondents referred to such musical performances, or specific parts of performances as 'moments'. As distinctive instances where something 'special' happened that allowed people to experience themselves and the presence of others in ways that they perceived to be intimate. In this chapter I shall unpack what these musical moments are and then in chapter seven I will go on to illustrate their significance in understanding how people experience 'Scottishness'.

6.1 Musical Motivations

Festival participants each had their own motivations for attending Celtic Connections and T in the Park, their own set of circumstances that led them there and their own role to play in the creation of a musical timespace. In this section I will outline some of the (creative) journeys that people made into musical timespaces in order to ascertain some of the (implicit) preparatory activities that people undertook prior to performances. This kind of introduction is not just a scene setting exercise. It also, in part, demonstrates how every person who attends a musical performance contributes, in some way, to the creation of a musical timespace.

During my research it became apparent that there were a number of different reasons why people participated at Celtic Connections and T in the Park. On the one hand, musicians often had quite pragmatic, financial reasons for participating in the festivals as Peter explains in the following quotation: -

“...basically work in January is an amazing thing, because January is not the best of months for getting musician work so that was the big thing [about Celtic Connections] [...] I’ve got to admit it pays the mortgage.”
(Peter).

Whilst pragmatic considerations – such as paying the mortgage – might have influenced musicians’ decisions to play at particular events their motivations for performing, *per se*, tend to reflect a more personalised needs or desires to perform. As the following comments suggest these had often developed from an early age.

Vocational motivations	
Wanted to be a musician from an early age	"I've just been playing music for so long now, I started with the recorder when I was eight, seven or eight and then bagpipes at nine and then concertina at twelve and I decided very early on that a musician's life was for me." (Peter).
Always been drawn to playing music	"Well... what draws me to music is an inside thing, that I've always wanted to play. I've played music since I was really small and I think most people who are on the scene are like that. They've always had music. That's my thing that I do." (Mary).
Played at an early age in the family ceilidh band and then drifted into performing as a profession	"The attraction to music was through... well, I've been in a ceilidh band with ma family actually, the family ceilidh band, so I was introduced to performing at about age twelve or something. [...] [Performing is] the only thing that I've really stuck it out at. [...] ...you know there's still some level of enjoyment in the fact that you're actually doing something that's creative." (Sebastian).

All of the musicians quoted above were drawn to perform for various reasons. Mary states how music has always been a part of her life and how she had always wanted to play music. Similarly, Peter had a desire to be a musician from an early age. This ambition was contrasted by Sebastian, who became a professional performer after failing to hold down any other kind of job.

On the other hand audience members suggested three, general, motivations for attending Celtic Connections and T in the Park. These motivations were a desire to have a holiday/break, a wish to see (particular) artists and an attraction to engage with particular emotional geographies. As the following quotations illustrate these motivations are not mutually exclusive.

Desire for a holiday

T in the Park is a holiday for some people	R1 "This is some people's holiday, you know what I mean? Some people come here for a few days and that's their holiday right enough." (Tcomm15).
Wanted a weekend off and to see Iggy Pop	NW "So what made you go to T in the Park then?" R "Erm... one I wanted to have like a weekend off somewhere (laughs) and two because I wanted to see Iggy Pop and so I thought I'd go to T in the Park for that, yeah. (Sally)

This collection of quotations illustrates the three main reasons why people attended Celtic Connections and T in the Park. Firstly, people used the festivals as holidays. At T in the Park some people went with the expressed wish to get a "weekend off somewhere", and there was also the notion, described by some of my respondents that some people treated the festival as their annual holiday⁹⁹. The 'holiday' motivation was fairly common at T in the Park from people who lived within Scotland, regardless of whether or not they could commute to the festival. This motivation was probably aided by the fact that the festival had its own campsite, which was used by the many of the festival-goers. Indeed, the Co-ordinator of T in the Park estimated that out of the 45 000 people who attended the festival 30 000 probably camped.

⁹⁹ Some of my respondents suggested that the relative expense of the tickets (£63 for a weekend ticket and £10 for a camping permit), the cost of travel to the festival site and the reality of taking time off work to attend meant that for some festival goers T in the Park was treated as an annual holiday. People saved up for the tickets and then travelled to T in the Park for a weekend away.



Figure 6.1 Campsite at T in the Park. Source: Photograph by the author.

The holiday motivation was also important for some festival-goers at Celtic Connections. For example, in the third set of quotes Paul and Alex had come from the USA for three weeks (using nearly all of their annual leave from work) specifically to see the festival and devoted almost all of their time during the days and evenings to festival activities. This 'devoted' approach to Celtic Connections was common amongst those who had travelled from outside of Scotland¹⁰⁰. Scottish-based festival-goers were more likely to attend the festival sporadically and tended to commute or stay in Glasgow for a shorter period of time.

Secondly, people attended the festivals to see particular acts as the quotations overleaf illustrate: -

Desire to see (particular) artists	
T in the Park is close by and is a good chance to sample some 'new' music	"Well [T in the Park] it's in Scotland so it's close by, I've been before and I've had a good time and er I'm really into ma music. And I thought this year I'd go and see bands I'd never actually seen before and didn't know very much about." (Jane)
Went to selected concerts of musicians that he'd heard of/about.	<p>(Angus outlines the concerts that he attended at Celtic Connections)</p> <p>NW "So what drew you to pick those performances?"</p> <p>R "The Cast because I had tapes or excerpts of a friends tape... [...] Mairi Campbell I think is her name, her voice was really good and er... I saw that [The Cast] were actually going to play and I thought hmmm? (Angus).</p>

Sally went to T in the Park specifically to see Iggy Pop and Jane, a regular concert attendee decided to use T in the Park as an opportunity to see lesser-known acts that she had heard of, but had not seen perform. Similarly, Angus went to Celtic Connections to see a number of bands, including The Cast who he had heard on tape and wanted to see perform live.

Crucially, it was not only the allure of a holiday or the opportunity to see certain artists that motivated audiences to attend Celtic Connections and T in the Park. The final motivating factor was the desire to experience a particular atmosphere.

NW "So why have you come to T in the Park then?"

[...]

R2 "Er... I've been a few times before and it's absolutely superb – atmosphere. It's just everybody being together, it's just superb." (Tcomm8).

This final motivation for attending Celtic Connections and T in the Park highlights a significant idea that will be explored in depth in this chapter. Most respondents that I

¹⁰⁰ Respondents who resided in Scotland all lived relatively close to Glasgow and therefore commuted to performances.

interviewed attended musical performances to be part of and to 'feel' a certain atmosphere; they wanted to engage with a particular emotional geography. In the above quotation the respondent went to T in the Park because of the atmosphere; the atmosphere created by "everybody being together". But who is the 'everybody' that the respondent is referring to and what does it mean to be "*being* together" with them? I will discuss these ideas in more depth in section 6.4, but before this I need to think a little more closely about the practices and events that create the timespaces of musical performance.

6.2 Setting the Scene

This section marks the beginning of a gradual entry into the emotional timespaces of musical performances. Here I explore some of the background activities that audiences engage in and the preparatory practices that musicians undertake prior to participating in musical performances. This exploration will focus mainly on two groups of participants; audience members and performers. Although, I discuss these two groups separately in this thesis I do not want to suggest that their roles in performances are entirely exclusive. This is because, as McQuail argues, there is a need to move away from the familiar notion of audience as a "collective term for the receivers [of communication]" (1997: 1). Instead, McQuail (1997) argues that audiences should be conceptualised as groups whose practice is spatially and temporally dynamic. Indeed, as McQuail (1997) outlines, the word audience originates from the Greco-Roman period when an audience would gather to listen to, watch, and respond to spatially localised public theatrical and musical performances.

The Greco-Roman audience, according to McQuail was always “potentially active within itself and interactive with performers. Performances were always “live” in the fullest possible sense” (1997: 3). Similarly Johnson notes that “eighteenth-century travelers’ accounts of the Paris Opéra and memoirs of concert goers describe a busy, preoccupied public, at times loud and at others merely sociable, but seldom deeply attentive” (1995: 1)¹⁰¹.

The flexibility of the term audience that Johnson (1995) and McQuail’s (1997) works suggest is useful. The audiences that they refer to were not passive receivers of communication, and nor were they necessarily engaged with the performance that they were attending. Rather, they were active participants in the musical performances. Therefore, when I refer to audiences I am not placing them within a passive/active dichotomy – where audiences are passive and musicians are active. Instead, I use these terms to denote the relative difference in roles whereby musicians are facilitators for musical experience and audience members potentially engage (in a physical and/or oral sense) with the musicians’ communicative efforts.

Getting Festive: Audiences

Audiences ‘usually’ have the opportunity to engage in a range of social practices before entering into the timespaces of musical performances. For example, they may meet to chat with friends and/or have a drink in the bar. From interviews with audience members at both festivals, it seems that there is the potential for a much

¹⁰¹ The broader context of Johnson’s work is to explore the reason why audiences ‘fell silent’ at the end of the nineteenth century.

more intense and temporally sustained period of socialising before (and sometimes during) individual performances¹⁰². At both festivals people discussed the ways in which Celtic Connections and T in the Park were good opportunities for making new friends and meeting up with old ones. The following quotations illustrate some of the ways in which people socialised with each other at the festivals.

Festivals facilitate socialisation	
Context of Celtic Connections festival allows for different kinds of social interactions	"I mean I like a lot of what goes on in [the club] because erm people who might go to the same venue for live music the other fifty weeks of the year really don't talk to each other much. They just go "hiya". The different context of going along to the sort of Celtic Connections Club you sort of go "oh hi!". So there's these different sorts of interaction and, but I think, from my own experience as well it does allow more experimentation with music and with perhaps new friendships" (Andy).
Celtic Connections provides an annual meeting place for people from around the world	R4 "Erm... it's not really about [performing] for me, it's about meeting people, networking with people and erm... I see 'em everyday I walk in, and I know that I'm going to see them the next year." [...] R2 "That's basically the other side of [Celtic Connections] because we all meet up. Apart from [names two other people from the group], we all met..." R5 "The love of music draws us from around the world..." (R2: Chris, R4: Billy – Scottish, R5: Alan)
Meet up with friends made at previous festivals	"...it's nice to meet people. [...] a lot of people meet up once a year and make mates and a lot of them came again this year. [...] A couple of them have come all the way from er... er... Shetland, so you meet them all. You know, you have a good laugh" (Tcomm11).
You meet people at T in the Park who you haven't seen for years	"...what I really loved was it felt quite... it was really friendly and it wasn't totally anonymous, I mean I was totally amazed that we ran into you, [...] They [Siobhan's friends] ran into neighbours of theirs from just outside Glasgow that they hadn't seen since they left it at seventeen and... and they ran into erm friends from college, from Dundee, you know who were up as well. Yeah, it was that sort of day. It felt really local in a way and then there were folk from all over." (Siobhan).

¹⁰² For example, at Celtic Connections there was a meeting area with refreshments available for the 'Friends of Celtic Connections' and at T in the Park there were a number of drinks tents that served beverages throughout the day.

These quotations illustrate some of the ways in which music festivals are events where people gather in a community of interest. Festivals are places where people meet new friends and catch up with old ones. In the first quote Andy discusses the ways in which the festival club at Celtic Connections offers a timespace for closer and 'different' kinds of social interactions to those usually found at other music venues¹⁰³. Similarly, the second quote features a group of friends who had met at various European folk and 'traditional' music festivals. They meet once a year at Celtic Connections, so the festival is important for them, not just as a musical event, but also as a meeting place; a place where temporary communities of common interest in various music including 'Scottish' music can be created.

As the respondent in quote Tcomm11 demonstrates, similar experiences occurred at T in the Park. Here the respondent explains how people meet up with other participants that they met in previous years. In addition, Siobhan describes unexpectedly meeting myself at the festival¹⁰⁴ and the ways in which her friends met people who they had not seen for years. Siobhan suggests that when people see others that they know at T in the Park, it gives the festival a 'local' feel, yet this is a national scale music festival with over 45 000 people attending on each day. So, although the festival was a large-scale event, for some people it managed to evoke a smaller scale, more localised atmosphere. What is significant here are the ways in which the festival was experienced as a Scottish gathering. The above quotations illustrate the ways in which the festival is a place where Scots meet old (Scottish)

¹⁰³ The festival club is an 'informal' after-hours meeting place where musicians and audience members can drink, chat and listen to live music.

friends. This phenomenon is important for the ways in which people experience 'Scottishness' for reasons that I shall discuss in chapter seven.

Preparing performances: Musicians

Performers might also socialise and meet people at music festivals, but they also have a job to do. No matter how spontaneous a performance may seem there is always some preparation and planning that takes place before every performance. The ways in which performances are prepared tells us a great deal about the ways in which people perceive musical performances to 'work'. The musicians that I spoke to were all experienced, professional musicians and recognised the importance of performance preparation; for setting up the conditions for potentially 'successful' performances. This is illustrated in the quote below: -

"I guess there's an element of theatre or using that space appeals to me. If you've got a kick-ass lighting rig, fuckin' use it. And if you can use that to enhance the music that you're playing then do that too. 'Cos you know there's always the potential for that. It's not something that can be spontaneous. That has to be slightly contrived..." (Sebastian).

From interviewing musicians it seems that they know, perhaps better than most, the significance of emotions in musical performances. They routinely prepare venues so that they can enhance the emotional impact that their music making will have on audiences. The use of lighting is one way, Sebastian suggests, that this can be achieved. Indeed, as Sebastian states above, there is always the potential to enhance performance practices, but this cannot be achieved spontaneously, it has to be

¹⁰⁴ I vaguely knew Siobhan, who was a research fellow in my department. She did not know that I was carrying out research at T in the Park and was genuinely surprised to see me.

planned and prepared in advance. What is equally important though, as the quotations below suggest, are the decisions that musicians make regarding the form and order of their sets.

Decisions on creating a set	
Try to let set list be guided by the performance location or a particular (topical) occasion	"...the first thing you look at is how long have we got and within that you need the balance of material. And I think the night that we did that gig it was either just before or on the day of the Burns anniversary, so we took the decision to string the three Burns' songs in a row. So we'll quite often try to be guided by where we are or maybe an interest in a particular occasion. If we have something in our repertoire we'll use that and sometimes we even learn things particularly to do with a particular place or location..." (Martin).
Let the set 'breathe' by varying the mood within the performance	R "...in a set you like to have... you like the set to breathe, so it's not just all the same all the way through the same level at the same pace. And again, that's something that you learn and it's inherent in your songs as well. If you've got erm, twenty five very slow songs, then it's gonna be a hell of a dull set, but it's unfortunate if that's what you've got, although luckily I'm not like that. A nice cross section." (Horse).
Need to organise set so that the audience leaves on an emotional high	R "I mean the danger if you don't [use set lists], the danger would be that you'd end up at the end of the night with only slow things left to play because you played all your fast stuff already and you don't want to do that because you wanna leave the audience on a bit of a high." (Mary).

These quotations reveal some interesting ideas regarding the ways in which musical performances are conceived of and 'used' to incite emotional responses. As I suggested earlier (see in particular chapters two and five) musical performances are creative events; they are occasions for potentially expressing and experiencing 'new' and 'different' notions of 'Scottishness'. However, as these quotations testify the creative character of musical performances does not occur spontaneously *per se*. Indeed, the potential for 'creativity' and, more specifically, for creative expressions of 'Scottishness' are often put in place before the event. Artists may respond to the

mood of the audience during a performance, but they go into a concert with a set list that they think the audience will enjoy. Therefore musical performances are not just about newness and creativity, but they are also, in part, concerned with (re)producing established musical forms and practices. In the context of my work, what is particularly significant is the ways in which the potential for expressing 'Scottishness' is built into set lists.

For example, some artists, such as Martin, choose pieces of music that they think the audience may 'connect with'. In the quotation above he explains a number of ways in which musicians can encourage audience members to engage with musical performances. These include playing specific pieces of music that may have a certain resonance with the location that the musicians are performing in, and performing music that draws on festivals and anniversaries that the audience may be celebrating, such as the Scottish celebration of Burns' Night. This last point is particularly significant because Martin draws on notions of 'Scottishness' (in this case, the works of Burns') to forge a connection with a ('Scottish') audience. I argue that in engaging in such practices Martin encourages audience members to engage with ideas of 'Scottishness' and reinforces the notion that they are connected by a shared ('Scottish') cultural heritage.

In addition to creating a set list that contains works that performers think audience members will connect with artists also try to produce a set that is variable, yet balanced in terms of pace and key. As Horse mentions, attempts to produce a varied set reflects artists' intentions to let the set 'breathe'; to allow for changes of mood

and the experience of a variety of emotions. This keeps performances dynamic and interesting because, in effect, the artist keeps the audience guessing as to what kind of emotional experience they are going to encounter next.

This kind of approach seems to be popular among artists. For example, Mary discusses the need to have a mix of material, but states more explicitly how she uses particular pieces of music to try and influence the mood of the audience. Here she mentions that she often puts some faster pieces at the end of her set so that the audience leaves the performance “on a high”. So, Horse and Mary suggest that they use set lists as a way of enhancing the emotional content of their performances.

It is clear from these quotations that a significant amount of time and effort is spent preparing for performances. In addition to thinking about stage set-up and set lists, artists also devoted time to rehearsing both in and outside of performance venues. However, Horse suggests that there is a fine line between setting up the conditions for a ‘good’ performance and potentially stifling the creativity and spontaneity of a performance through over preparing and over rehearsing. She said: -

“...people tend to be at their most exciting when they’re like rough diamonds [...] That’s why, certainly when we rehearse, we never rehearse for hours and hours on end, because it keeps it sort of fresh you know. You know and there’s this kind of edge when you go on the stage. But again it’s inevitable, the more you perform something, the more polished it becomes. It’s a danger.” (Horse).

So, it appears that preparing performances is a tricky business. Creating “sensory experiences” as one musician put it, takes careful planning and organisation.

However, if it is over prepared and over rehearsed then there is a risk of losing “the edge” which gives the performance its vitality. In other words, as Horse suggests, too much rehearsing inhibits the potential for creativity; performances become so prepared that artists can almost reproduce what they have rehearsed, rather than creating something that is more fresh, and ‘new’. I will draw on these ideas of spontaneity and “edge” in my later discussion of performances. However, all of the planning, and rehearsing that the musicians describe is leading up to the creation of a timespace of musical performance. The scene is set, all that is needed is an audience and for the musicians to ready themselves and go out onto the stage.

6.3 Entering Timespaces of Musical Performance.

In this section I attempt to evoke the experience whereby timespaces of musical performance are simultaneously created and entered into. As the quotations below demonstrate this process involves mental and sometimes physical preparation whereby audiences and performers prepare to disengage themselves from the routine practices of their everyday lives and, indeed, their everyday being (*cf.* Holman-Jones 1998 and Small 1998). These quotations are full of anticipation. Eleanor explains how, for her, she mentally prepares herself for performances prior to their inception as she thinks about what the performance might be like and what sounds she might hear. She also prepares herself for engaging in a social relationship with performers. The way in which Eleanor describes her potential interaction with artists evokes a sense of intimacy. She presents herself as open and willing for a multi-sensory

experience where relations are forged through emotional reciprocation. The role of intimacy will be explored further in section 6.6.

Mary, a performer, describes a similar process of disengagement from her routine being. She anticipates that no matter what is happening in her personal life, she will be able to go on stage and perform; to *be* differently for a certain length of time. This transformation into a different way of being is aided by wearing make-up; adopting a physical appearance that she does not associate with her routine life. For Mary the timespace of musical performance is precisely about forgetting about everything that might be happening outside of the timespace of musical performance and concentrating solely on practices and social relations that are constituted through music making.

As Eilidh suggests sometimes this process of preparation for a band can occur more than once at a single event. Here she describes the time between a support act leaving the stage and the main band entering onto it as period of excited anticipation. The performance that she describes is not a seated event and audience members move forward as they think that the performers are about to go onto the stage. This suggests that there is a desire to be physically close to the performers, to experience them more intimately.

"...you're going there with a specific purpose and you really have a preparation period, if only catching the underground, you know, you've got this objective when you settle down for it erm... and you've certain expectations of songs, even if it's unknown. Erm... you're more or less saying here I am, I'm ready for you to offer and I'm ready to accept and give it back to you again (chuckles). [...] You're all ready... set up for it bodily in all your senses..." (Eleanor).

"...it doesn't matter what state I'm in, personally, I'm able to go on stage and be that person on stage. I find it really comforting sometimes, like if I've had a hard time in ma life or something like that, you know for that hour and a half we're on stage you don't have to think about what's going on in your life, you just get on with playing the music. [...]. ...it is a definite thing you, you put your stage face on. I don't wear makeup hardly. I only wear it on stage, so that's a definite thing." (Mary).

"...you've got that time period between the support group and then the main band comin' on and it's like, you get a real rush and er it's like you're waiting in anticipation, but it gets closer and closer and for some reason the crowd just starts to sense that it's going to be really soon and everybody starts moving closer and then the band comes on." (Eilidh).

6.4 Capturing the Experiences of Performers and Audiences

I argue that as soon as the performer(s) come(s) onto the stage and begin the emotional work that is involved in engaging with an audience then the timespace of musical performance is finally created. The following extract is taken from performance notes that I took at the beginning of a concert at Celtic Connections. It demonstrates some of the ways in which musicians try to draw audience members into the emotional geographies that they are creating and sustaining. These include welcoming audiences, explaining the format of the concert and engaging the

audience in banter where performers reveal elements of their routine lives. These practices are about engaging with audiences by putting them at their ease and disclosing information about themselves and their music. In some cases, such as the one below performers identify themselves as being 'Scottish' in various ways; using 'Scottish' languages and accents and outlining their position in a 'tradition' of 'Scottish' music making are illustrative in this regard. Such practices are potentially important for the ways in which audiences will experience 'Scottishness' through music performances as I will explain shortly.

... Margaret Bennett greets the audience first in Gaelic and then in English.

Explains that we'll be hearing two generations of Gaelic singers.

States that Gaelic song and poetry is the flower of Western Europe.

Introduces onto the stage Cathy-Ann MacPhee and Mairi MacInnes.

Cathy-Ann and Mairi are both dressed in 'ordinary', smart clothes – looks slightly unusual on stage.

Unaccompanied song with beautiful close harmonies. Slow, lilting melody. [...]

Cathy-Ann says that she's the only [performer] not wearing black. Says she looks like she's been 'tangoed'¹⁰⁵ - audience laughs. Goes on to joke about how she's afraid to dry her trousers on her washing line at her home in South Uist. She fears that local pilots will mistake her trousers for a windsock and try and land their planes in her garden – laughter from audience.

She says she hopes that there are lots of Gaelic men and women in the audience – audience cheers enthusiastically. She introduces her next song as a guitarist, saxophonist and double bass player walk on stage... (participant sensing notes taken at 'Gaelic Women', GRCH, 13/01/00)

As I read through these participant sensing notes (and those of other performances) two things strike me. Firstly, and perhaps most generally, I am reminded, in quite significant detail of the performance(s) that I attended. The little things that caught my attention, and that I thought might be relevant are displayed before me; selective

descriptions of the music that I was listening to, some of the jokes and stories that performers told, occasional (re)actions of performers and audience members and some of the emotions that I was experiencing. Secondly, is how my notes change in tone as the performance(s) take place. I can sense times in the performances that were particularly poignant, where I outline in detail the emotions that I was experiencing and I try to capture what it was like for me to be in the performance at that point in time. I can almost (but not quite) recapture what was happening. In other places though I can remember 'going through the motions' with regards to my note taking. I write about the performance, but it is in a comparatively dispassionate and distanced manner. I was experiencing the performance, but I was not really drawn into it. Here my notes tend to be more sketchy and focus on the technical qualities of the music, highlighting rhythmic forms, the ability of the musicians, and some of the possible reasons why the performance was not 'working' for me. As an analyst a performance that 'works' would be one that provides an entry into more emotionally enhanced ways of being - it allows me to access emotional geographies - but, as I will demonstrate later, this also seems to be the benchmark for what 'works' for other audience members and performers.

It is also interesting to see how many notes I wrote during the performances. It seems that at some performances that I 'connected' with, I wrote very little. I remember (quite vividly) having experienced some performances in powerful and poignant ways, and yet there is little documentary 'evidence' of what was happening at these times. As with all sensory experiences, some of the emotions and feelings

¹⁰⁵ Cathy-Ann is wearing a bright orange outfit.

that were experienced during musical performances are embodied and stored as memories, so that they can be variously recalled after the event. So although I was not always able to take comprehensive notes on the performances I, and other people who attended these performance events, am able to remember and recall various elements of the performances and the feelings and emotions that we experienced¹⁰⁶. Of course, working with memory in this context is difficult and problematic because memories will differ from initial experiences of events. However, for reasons discussed earlier it was not always possible to capture performance experiences as they were occurring. In addition, discussing memories in interviews is inherently problematic because, as Bingley (2002) explains, the ways in which interviewers frame interviews impacts upon the ways in which respondents remember performances. Therefore I was always mindful to not push my 'agenda' onto other people's memories of the events. In addition, with regards to my own memories, I was aware that I would remember those facets of the performances that were most 'useful' for my research. It is because of this concern that I used both my own experiences and, most importantly, those of other audience members and musicians in my research.

If I piece together the various accounts that I gathered regarding what was happening in these performance timespaces I can gain a greater understanding of two interconnected phenomena. Firstly, I can forward an idea of what was 'happening' at these performance events; what people were doing and thinking in these musical timespaces. Secondly, and perhaps most importantly for my research, I also begin to

¹⁰⁶ This is illustrated by the ways in which people talked about musical performances in the interviews

get a better sense of *why* and *when* it is that people sometimes experience heightened emotions through the social and cultural content of musical performances.

As I look through the 'different' accounts of musical performances that I have gathered it seems that there are a number of factors that inform and/or affect the experience of musical performances. These tend to group around firstly the (re)actions of performers, secondly the (re)actions of audience members and thirdly people's experiences of space. These three groups of factors are, of course, not mutually exclusive, however, they seem to be important for the ways in which people engage with (other) performers and audience members during musical events. In addition, they also seem to affect the ways in which people experience performances as ways of knowing and being through emotional relations. In short, as I will argue throughout the remainder of this chapter, they are the factors that either prevent or encourage an emotional engagement with performances. They are the phenomena that can potentially restrict some people to 'going through the motions' at musical performances, or they allow people to engage with the performance and enter into an emotional state that enables them to experience themselves and others in emotionally intensive ways. This latter state, for reasons that will be explained shortly, will be referred to as being in 'the moment' of musical timespaces. I will now examine these two processes of 'going through the motions' and being in 'the moment' of musical timespaces pulling out the various ways in which performers, audience members and physical spaces affect people's experience of musical performances in the following two sections.

that I held some weeks after the festivals.

6.5 'Going Through the Motions' at Musical Performances

In order to understand how something works it is sometimes easiest to start by thinking about the ways in which that something might not 'function'. Following this logic I want to briefly consider some of the ways in which musical performances sometimes do not 'work' in the sense of failing to capture the attention and imagination of both performers and audience members. In highlighting what does not 'work' in musical performances I hope to begin to uncover some of the social practices and contexts that *do* allow people to engage with musical performances in emotionally intensive ways. I start by considering the role that performers potentially play in preventing people from getting into 'the moment' of musical performances. Then I will move on to consider the ways in which audience members and performance venues can also inhibit the construction of social relations that are experienced in emotionally enhanced ways.

Performers are obviously a vital component of performance events. They are the primary agents in music making and are potentially the facilitators of emotional experiences of 'Scottishness'. Performers, after all, are skilled emotional 'workers'. As I demonstrate later in this chapter their profession is based, in part, on tapping into and working with 'emotions'. Their craft is precisely about exploring and 'elaborating' social life and social relations using a medium that emphasises and enriches the emotional content of these phenomena (*cf.* Attali 1985, Barenboim and Said 2003, Said 1991 and Wood and Smith, forthcoming).

As the quotations overleaf illustrate, people want to experience and participate in musical events, where the emotional content of life is potentially heightened. Indeed, people attend musical performances, in part, to interact with these skilled emotional workers on various social and emotional levels; to experience an event, that is (a)live in every sense. All of these quotations were responses to questions that I asked regarding why people go to musical performances and how these events differ to listening to recorded versions of the same songs.

Benefits of (live) musical performances	
Gain a greater understanding of the music	"...people introduce the songs and tell you something about themselves, or tell you something about the song. Er... it makes it much more interesting [...] all of a sudden you can put the lyrics into context and er... they're a lot more meaningful." (Gregor).
Live music involves 'enriched' communication with exchanges of bodily gestures and corporeal 'presence'	"...the fact it's live [...] you're communicating a lot more with people, but there's something... [...] you can take for instance this interview. If this is being conducted over a phone you're missing the interaction of facial expressions, the movement, how you're moving ya head, the actual... I don't like the word aura, but it's the only one that comes to mind, what each of the people are projecting, because there is a reciprocal live bit." (Andy).
Live music is creative	"...the improvisation, there's variations that they do and it's just, it's just more alive" (Tcomm 17).

Hearing music is an obvious and important reason why people attend performances, but, as the quotations above suggest, there are other reasons why some people are drawn to experience live musical performances. People attend musical performances to see people perform; to listen to them talk about their work (Gregor), to watch them make music (Andy) and to engage in the spontaneity and excitement of a live performance (Tcomm17). People go to musical performances to participate in

something that is creative and emotionally striking in a way that much of everyday, routine life seems not to be¹⁰⁷.

The ability of performers to variously communicate and engage with audience members appears to be crucial for their emotional experiences of musical performances. As the following set of quotations highlight there were performances at both Celtic Connections and T in the Park where audience members and performers did not 'connect' and the performances fell rather flat.

Audience members and musicians not engaged in performances	
Performer did not prepare a set that could hold the audience's attention	"...you've no idea how difficult it is to fill half an hour and she did her level best and she probably went over the top a bit, but er in a sense the people had gone off the boil. What interest she had built up she... it was extended too long and people had switched off..." (Dougie).
Too much talking and inappropriate use of anecdotes put the audience off	"But she presented the whole thing. [...] ...family anecdotes and things which were completely out of place [...]. ...[the audience] were restless all through her programme. She couldn't hold them." (Eleanor).
Performer distanced herself by performing the role of 'star'	"I like her music, but I just think she's got a nasty false sort of personality, which comes across as a sort of deranged star that's from another planet and I wasn't interested." (Jane).

These quotations give some insight into some of the ways in which performers can fail to engage with and lose the attention of audience members. Performers may not be able to present a programme that can hold everyone's attention (Dougie), they may distance themselves from some audience members with inappropriate comments

¹⁰⁷ Everyday life can, of course, be creative and emotionally striking, however these moments tend to be exceptions to a plethora of more mundane activities and occurrences. Buying groceries, washing up and walking to work are, to a certain extent, creative and emotional activities, but these elements are generally played down and are less obvious. Musical performances, however, are precisely concerned with creativity and emotional expression.

or behaviour (Eleanor), or audience members may simply not take to performers' personalities (Jane). It seems that engaging with audience members has to be carried out in ways that are deemed suitable and appropriate by audience members.

But, of course, it is not only performers that affect the ambience of a gig and people's engagement with performance events. As I argue below, the role of audience members is equally important. The following set of quotations illustrates some of the ways in which the presence and behaviour of audience members can affect people's experience of musical performances.

Distracting and annoying audience behaviour...	
Late arrivals to performances are distracting	"I don't think that [Savourna] Stevenson really had people on mass and that was undoubtedly mediated by the fact that people were still arriving [during the beginning of the performance]." (Charlotte).
Crowd behaviour can make audience members feel unsafe and uncomfortable	"[During the Travis set] was the only time that I felt threatened at all [...] ...you're just trying to stay on your feet and then you push back the other way and you can't see the band and you can't hear anything there's beer goes flying over your face and then someone sails over and kicks your head and oh it's horrid." (Jane).
Inhibited audience behaviour can diminish people's enjoyment of performances	"...at Horse I felt that the audience was quite conservative and riveted and, you know like, there weren't very many people even moving in their seat let alone standing up and dancing. [...] ...if you're in a crowd that's really inhibited then it makes it harder for you to really enjoy yourself" (Suzy).
Clapping can break 'the moment' of performances	"... I hate applause. [If you liken a performance to a meal] people clap between courses, if not between mouthfuls you know, and it breaks the continuity." [...] ...if there is a pause, sometimes it's a very moving thing, there's one person starts the applause you see and it breaks the spell, which is a hell of a shame." (Eleanor).

These quotations raise some interesting ideas about the ways in which audience members experience, or wish to experience, musical performances. Many of the comments presented above express wishes by audience members to create stable

timespaces of musical performance where they can experience music in an environment in which they (individually) feel relaxed, safe, and secure. Charlotte suggests that late arrivals prevent audience members from settling down and engaging fully with the performance. Similarly, Jane argues that certain kinds of behaviour, which are interpreted as being 'antisocial' or lacking consideration, prevent people from immersing themselves fully into the timespaces of musical performance. This is particularly relevant to performances at T in the Park. Such behaviour includes pushing and drunken and loutish behaviour. These are regarded as unsettling distractions that prevent some people from being able to experience performances as they would wish to. These 'antisocial' forms of behaviour involve the invasion or unsettling of a sense of personal space. So, it seems that some people need to feel secure, comfortable and stable in musical timespaces in order for them to be able to fully appreciate and engage with performances. Anything that unsettles this personal space distracts their attention away from the performance.

The ways in which audience members physically express themselves can also affect people's engagement with performances. Clapping, whilst being an established method for audiences to express their appreciation of a performance can, in some cases, cause irritation. Eleanor suggests that clapping can break the continuity and 'spell' of performances. For me, Eleanor's use of the word spell has a certain resonance to the notion of 'the moment' of musical performances that I discussed in chapter three. She suggests that during musical performances her emotional engagement with the performance is severed when someone starts to clap. Clapping

seems to signal the shattering of a particular musical timespace, or a musical 'moment'. I will discuss this idea further in section 6.6.

These are some of the explanations for why audience members and performers do not engage in musical performances. But, as a number of performers suggested, there are also times when things just do not 'work', for reasons that are apparently unidentifiable. This point is illustrated nicely in quotations below.

Cannot engage audiences	
Can't predict bad performances – there's no logic to it	"We're doin' fifteen Christmas nights [at the Renfrew Ferry]. We've done two so far, both have been very good, you could do... the next five will be absolutely brilliant, the dance floor will have been stound ¹⁰⁸ and they'll maybe be two hundred, three hundred there. The next night there might be four hundred people there and we can only get five, ten people on the dance floor. It doesn't make sense. There's no rhyme nor reason to it and there's no way... you know I don't know what it is, if I did I'd be no way there." (Jimmy).
Talks to audiences to try and engage them with the performance and encourage greater participation	"I was up in Fife and they didn't say too much either, until it was time to go and as we're doing the show I'm usually goin' (adopts mimicking voice) "well look, you know if you don't respond I'll be gone and you'll be goin' oh what Horse has gone, oh no" (NW laughs). Er I talk to them all the way through as if to say "come on, join us, you know." (Horse).

Jimmy's quote highlights the unpredictability of performing. Even in cases where the set up is the same and the set lists are similar some audiences will enjoy Jimmy's gigs and participate in them, whilst others might be relatively disinterested¹⁰⁹. In situations where performers cannot engage audiences it seems that there is relatively little that can be done. Horse demonstrates how she tries to talk to audiences to put

¹⁰⁸ Stound is a Scots word meaning to ache or throb (Kynoch, 1996).

them at ease and encourage them to participate more, but even this tactic does not always work.

So, performer and audience member (re)actions to/in performances can have negative impacts on people's experiences of musical events, these are not the only factors though that affect people's engagements with musical performances. The kinds of venues that the performances are held in also have a role to play. In other words, physical settings can inhibit or enhance the setting up of emotional relations between (and among) performers and audiences. Some examples of this are illustrated below.

Physical settings and the construction of emotional relations between (and among) performers and audience members	
Cold spaces discourage a good atmosphere	"no one danced or anything which was a shame. [...] It was a bit cold, which isn't really good for the old atmosphere." (Sarah).
Large venues can stifle audience participation	"I know they certainly try to get people to sing along that Saturday night, but I... it was such a big place. [...] ...in a great big hall you're all a bit hmm (mimes embarrassed silence) like that you know. So I was slightly hesitant..." (Gregor).
If performers aren't confident in their surroundings then they are less able to make audiences relaxed and comfortable	"...you try and make people feel relaxed enough that they lose their inhibitions and er... You can't do that effectively unless you do feel kind of confident in the set up that you're kind of involved in [...]. ...if you've got a crap acoustic the sound just rattles around and you get up and end up playing in... you know if you play in a sports hall for instance you're fucked because it's just that hard, reflective surface that bounces the sound around. Well, you know, concrete walls that just slap it about." (Sebastian).

As the above comments demonstrate physical settings play a significant role in the construction of social relations between performers and audience members. I argue

¹⁰⁹ It is important here not to regard audiences as a homogeneous group. However, as earlier quotations suggest if a significant proportion of an audience is not engaging with a performance then

that this is because they have an impact on people's abilities to feel comfortable and relaxed during a musical event. For example, Sarah states how cold performance spaces do not encourage a 'good' atmosphere and Gregor describes how large venues can make audiences feel self-conscious and discourage them from playing a more participatory role in performances. Both the size of performance timespaces and the ambiances that they promote are important because they can physically restrain the ways in which audience members participate in and respond to musical performances. In contrast, the acoustic properties of the performance venue can also impact on the atmosphere of the performance. As Sebastian explains, if the acoustic is not sympathetic to music making then performers do not feel confident and, subsequently, they cannot encourage the audience to feel relaxed. In other words, Sebastian suggests that if performers lack confidence in their performance, then they will not be able to create the kind of musical timespace that is conducive to a relaxed and happy audience.

In this section I have teased out some of the factors that can preclude audiences and performers from really engaging with and enjoying musical performances. These include performers using inappropriate banter and inconsiderate audience members invading the 'personal space' of other people, poorly prepared sets, unresponsive audiences and inappropriate venues. All of these factors work against people being able to 'get into' performances and prevent them from experiencing them as fully or intensely as they might under more favourable conditions. What I want to think

this will affect the ways in which other audience members experience musical events.

about now though is what happens when performances do 'work' for people. What happens when performances open up our emotional geographies.

6.6 Being in 'the Moment' of Musical Performances

Highlighting the phenomena that can impede people's enjoyment of and engagement with musical performances implicitly identifies some of the factors that are necessary for the expression and experience of 'satisfying' musical performances. In this section I explore what happens when there is nothing (or very little) to disrupt or distract people's attention from engaging with the performances.

Reflections on my personal experience of performances that I enjoyed suggest that 'successful' performances were tied up with the notion of *being* ('different' and somewhere else) in a timespace of intensely felt social (and emotional) relations. It was about being somewhere where the quality and nature of the social relations between performers and audience members was played up and laid bare.

By way of substantiating and exploring these ideas further I want to draw on interviews that I carried out at Celtic Connections and T in the Park. The following quotations are replies to questions that I asked my respondents about the ways in which they experienced (physically, mentally and emotionally) particular performances. As the following quotations illustrate many respondents experienced extreme feelings of aliveness and wellbeing that they did not usually encounter in other areas of their everyday lives.

Musical performances elicit feelings of aliveness and wellbeing	
Heart beats faster	NW "What do you actually feel [when you're listening to the bands]. Can you try to put it into words what the feeling is?"
Adrenaline rush	R1 "Your heart's beating anyway because of the noise in there (points to chest). It's just really exciting." R2 "Adrenaline. It's a sort of rush isn't it? [...] It's like a high isn't it?" (Tcomm19).
Musical performances elicit resurrection-like feelings	NW "What did you think of that last performance?" [...] R1 "Fucking fantastic. Resurrection type stuff (R2 laughs). It really was man." [...] NW "What did it feel like to be in that performance?" R2 "Erm... euphoric. I've never raved in ma life, but I was ravin' there." (Tcomm21).
Performances encourage a feeling of joy that is absent in so much of everyday life	NW "...you were talking about the festival feeling or the festival atmosphere. What did that feel like to you?" R "Really happy, just happy you know, and like, this is living. You know this is a joy somehow that you don't always... that you can forget if you're caught up in the day to day run of stuff it's... there's something about music that can really sort of touch you emotionally and you see it in other people as well and you feel like you're connecting." (Siobhan).
Audience member left the performance in quiet elation	"I went to the Colin Reid Quartet [...]. He had written a very modernistic piece, erm tremendous pulse, vivacity and life in this thing and erm I was absolutely taken aback by it. [...] the only thing you could do was leave the building sort of quietly afterwards in quiet elation, because throbbing inside you was this tremendous racing (articulates a fast rhythm, $\vee\vee\wedge\vee\vee\wedge\vee$) it was really going, it was really going on inside you all the time. (Dougie).

These quotations illustrate the emotional power of musical performances. Musical performances encourage people to experience feelings of wellbeing and aliveness that are less common in the routine areas of everyday life. For example, the respondents in Tcomm19 describe their experiences of performances as adrenaline rushes; as energetic events where the performers, their music and the surrounding crowds hyped them up. Indeed, one pair of respondents in Tcomm21 went so far as to describe a performance as resurrectional and euphoric. Their use of these two

words is interesting because they directly refer to ideas of living and being. In using notions of resurrection and euphoria in their descriptions of musical experiences they suggest that musical performances have the power to elicit extreme feelings of contentment and aliveness.

Siobhan echoes these sentiments. Here she describes how she felt really happy during a performance at T in the Park. For Siobhan the performance allowed her to experience joy in a way that she forgets when she is involved in the day to day routine of life. Indeed, Siobhan suggests that these experiences of happiness and joy are what life is (or perhaps should be) about. As she says “this is living”.

Where the first three quotes do not really discuss in much detail the role of music *per se*, in these experiences of aliveness and wellbeing Dougie describes quite nicely how such feelings are elicited. For Dougie it was the rhythm of the music that really stirred him and he continued to be ‘infected’ by the rhythmic pulse of Colin Reid’s piece even after the concert had finished. Dougie’s emphasis on the corporeal experience of music is shared by the respondents in the following quotation, which is taken from a group interview that I conducted at T in the Park. Although the four people that I spoke to had great difficulty describing what they had experienced during a performance by Moby, some of them suggested that they experienced a ‘feeling’ that was absent when they heard recorded versions of his music. This feeling (in their words) was “intense”, it was a “good feeling”; it was “fantastic”.

NW "So what did it feel like to be in that concert then was it...? To see Moby. Was it different to kinda listening to it on a CD or...?"

[...]

R3 "It's just the atmosphere."

R2 "You get a feelin'. [...] It's like you stand there and you can feel the bass, just... [...] comin' right through you, you know. [...] It's a feelin' mainly in the music."

NW "Yeah? What is that feelin' then? (*respondents, after initially being quite boisterous and cheeky suddenly don't know what to say*). Come on... what is that feelin', you're doing good, you're doing well here."

R3 "Intense, it's sort of a good feelin'."

R2 "I dunno, it's just that feelin'. It makes you feel..."

R3 "Fantastic."

R4 "Were you not there last night?" (Tcomm26)

I argue that this quotation illustrates something significant about the ways in which people experience themselves and others in musical performances. One respondent states that the difference between listening to recorded music and a live performance is that they get a feeling. When I ask them what this feeling is the group struggles to articulate their experiences. One of them breaks their attempts to describe how they were feeling by asking me if I was not present at the concert. This tactic of asking me about my participation at performances was a strategy that was popularly used by respondents. Indeed, I often sensed that people thought that it was odd that I was asking them to describe their experience of a concert because, if I had been there (which often I had), then *I should know* what it had been like. They *assumed* that if I was there then I would know what they had experienced.

In all of the quotes that I have discussed so far in this section social relations have played an important role in people's experience of musical performances. People tend to get caught up in other people's emotional experiences of a performance. But

it is more than this. If people are enjoying a performance and they sense that others are enjoying it too, then there appears to be a tendency for people to assume that other people are experiencing that performance in similar ways (and for similar reasons) that they are. As Siobhan states "there's something about music that can really sort of touch you emotionally and you see it in other people as well and you feel like you're connecting". Siobhan's thoughts are echoed in another quote from one of my respondents at T in the Park. She said...

"...you get vibes off other people because they're enjoying it as well and you're like "oh we all like the same music" (*laughs*)." (Tcomm6).

I argue that these assumptions - that people are enjoying performances in the same ways and for the same reasons - are crucial to the formation of (imagined) national communities (*cf.* Anderson 1983). Previous quotations have highlighted how music, as a medium of communication can elicit (sometimes) extreme feelings of aliveness and wellbeing. But the ways in which people share their encounters of musical performances with others encourages them to assume that their own (personal) experience of the event is mirrored in others. They forge an (imagined) bond with other audience members on the basis of the assumption of a shared experience of musical performances. As I will argue further in chapter seven, I think that this process is highly significant for the ways in which people experience 'Scottishness' at musical performances even when the music itself is not described as being 'Scottish'. This is because I argue that, in some contexts people *assume* that they are experiencing musical performances in similar ways and for similar reasons because of their shared Scottish national identity.

So, musical performances are occasions where people can experience feelings of wellbeing and aliveness in particularly powerful ways. Reflecting on various encounters with musical performances it appears that in order for these feelings of wellbeing and aliveness to occur people enter 'another world'. A world where people experience themselves and others in ways where the emotional content of social relations is enhanced. A world that involves not just 'different' ways of being (as earlier quotes testify) but different ways of communicating. Such entries into 'another world' of being and communicating is what I - and some respondents - refer to as 'the moment' of musical performances¹¹⁰. I set up the premise for this idea in chapter three, but what I want to do here is to describe and explore what these 'moments' are and also to suggest ways in which they might work to reify and (re)produce emotional attachments to ideas of 'Scottishness'. This latter idea will be developed more fully in chapter seven.

For me, the following quote by Eilidh gets to the heart of this notion of entering another world through musical performances. She says: -

"What I always love about music is that it just completely surrounds you [...] ...it wasn't necessarily as good being erm... in such a, a big field, because it wasn't a bounded space in which the music was in. So it wasn't like the music was contained. You know when you're in your car and you're listening to the music, the music completely fills the car and it fills the space around you erm... so you didn't get that same feeling, but then... I mean at the end of the concert I was getting these feelings where the music was very overwhelming and all around me and I love that. I love when the music's just in the air and ... you can just feel it, you can feel it going through you and erm... I love er... the feeling of er... it's quite sort of like an escapism. [...] ...you feel the rhythms and the beats

¹¹⁰ See also the quote from Paul Weller's (2001) album 'Days of Speed' at the beginning of this chapter.

through you and everybody else is sort of like in the space and you can internalise it [...].” (Eilidh).

Initially Eilidh suggests that her experience of the performance may have been less intimately experienced because it took place in a space that was not physically bounded. However, part way through the conversation she changes her mind and states that she did experience the kinds of feelings that she gets when she listens to music in an enclosed space; feelings of being physically and emotionally overwhelmed by music which completely surrounds her¹¹¹. As she says, it is “like an escapism” she is transported into another way of being. She enters into the moment of musical performances.

In chapter three I argued that ‘the moment’ of musical performances connoted a particular relationship between space and time that is constituted through the social relations that are formed during processes of ‘musicking’¹¹² (*cf.* Small 1998). I also described ‘the moment’ of musical performance as being like a bubble, which is constituted through practices of music making. Like all bubbles the bubble (or ‘moment’) of musical performances is susceptible to internal and external pressures which threaten its delicate structure. Remember, for example, Eleanor’s disdain at people who clap because they “break the spell”, in other words they burst the bubble of the moment of performance. Indeed, Eleanor and Eilidh’s recognition that the

¹¹¹ This ties in with Cumming’s (2000) remarks that I outlined in chapter three where she describes performing as an empowering process where she is able to fill space with (her) sound.

¹¹² Where musicking refers to “taking part in any capacity in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or by practising, by providing material for performance (what is called a composition), or by dancing” (Small 1998: 9).

moment of musical performances are times of intensive social and emotional relations are supported the responses of a number of other interviewees.

Being in 'the moment' of musical performances	
<p>'The moment' of performance is when musicians and audiences feed off each other's energy</p> <p>Such 'moments' can be exhilarating; it's a sense of unity and communion that performers strive for</p> <p>Performers are the catalysts for these kinds of emotional experiences</p>	<p>"...you usually get the message from the first couple of numbers and then you get that kind of moment thing... it's almost like a feedback loop where you actually feed off the energy that's comin' off the floor [...] that's what drives you on, you know it's the dynamo and you take on your timing as much from the people who are, you know reacting to the music. You're reacting to the dancers and erm... hopefully the whole thing escalates to (<i>adopts a Sean Connery style accent</i>) some higher plane of consciousness."</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>"It's a very mystic, it's a mystical thing, it's a magical thing and you know you get a gig in the palm of ya hand and you just think "fuckin' yes!" But then they've got you in the palm of their hand and it's a kinda, its that whole, you know [...] ... you strive for that, that sense of some sort of unity [...] it's when everybody's you know kinda (<i>chuckles</i>) I know they're all coming up at the same time on the same drug. [...] I think that's why people still go for live music rather than DJing or in conjunction with a DJ rather, because erm... they've got that kind of ability to catalyse." (Sebastian).</p>
<p>Audience reactions give performers energy and drive</p> <p>If the audience are really quiet then performers know that they've 'got' them</p>	<p>R "I mean your audience is actually very important. If they don't give you anything back, you can play, but you just lose your spirit, you lose your energy. It's hard to describe really but, if you're getting a lot of response from them it can lift you. If you've started off not feeling terribly brilliant and then you get a surprise, really good response, you can just go jjjjjjjjjj (<i>said in an ascending tone</i>) and go onto another level."</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>NW "By response, do you mean things like clapping and..."</p> <p>R "Yeah, I suppose that's how an audience shows what they're feeling, but it's not necessarily that. It can also be quite quiet, but quiet like a pin-drop quiet. If it's like that you know that you've got them and that's really good as well." (Mary).</p>
<p>Musical performances are absorbing, multi-sensory experiences</p>	<p>"I thought that it wouldn't really be my kind of thing, but I actually found it very moving [...]. It's the best way to hear something live like that, to get how it's meant to be, you know that sort of impact where it's totally absorbing. You don't just hear it, but you see it and feel it you know. (Siobhan).</p>

These quotations suggest that the 'moment' of a musical performance is produced, in part, through the creation of social and emotional connections between musicians

and audience members. It seems that there are many 'forms' that these moments can take, but that they are clearly recognisable as timespaces in which people experience themselves and others through *musicking*, in ways that are emotionally intensive. For example, Sebastian describes the ways in which musicians and audience members engage in an exchange of emotional energies, which provides the 'motor' for musical performances. He suggests that this exchange allows musicians and audience members to experience a performance in ways that transcend experiences that they previously had during the performance. In a rather dramatic fashion Sebastian describes this transcendence as a move to "a higher plane of consciousness". Mary's quotation supports this idea where she describes how, at certain times, performances can ascend to a higher level. In Mary's case though she alludes to more specific responses that signify her engagement with the audience. In particular, she describes how an almost silent audience signifies that she has "got them". The performer has captured the attention of the audience and, as Siobhan suggests, the audience becomes completely absorbed in the performance.

For many musicians that I spoke to these 'moments' were the pinnacle of what they were trying to creatively achieve through their performances. This point is illustrated by the following quotations: -

Importance of the moment of musical performance for musicians

For some artists their music making is precisely about performing; it's about social relations that are forged through the medium of music	NW "...is the live performance side of things particularly important to you?" R "[...] ...it's about the performance, it's about the relationship between me and whatever, whoever's performing at the same time. There's a chemistry and there's also a chemistry between me and the audience and it's always one of these things where I give, I give an awful lot to the audience, but I get a lot back and so it's a two way thing. [...] It's about the interaction, it's the atmosphere that happens..." (Horse).
Sense of communion between audiences and performers works as a dynamic of constant emotional reciprocation	"I think er... if you're a musician you want to communicate to other people, you want them to hear what you've got to say and erm... there's also, when a performance is going really well there's that sort of communion that you get between the performer and the audience that's erm... very enriching for musicians and the audience. 'Cos it's a sort of constant dynamic between the performers on the stage and the audience. Each giving things to the other and back again..." (Sebastian).

Here, Horse and Sebastian both emphasise how 'the moment' of musical performances is, in part, created through the reciprocal exchange of emotional expression. In participating in this kind of emotional exchange Sebastian argues that a sense of communion can be formed, which is enriching for all concerned. How exactly are these kinds of emotional relations produced though and on what bases are they formed?

Horse and Sebastian were particularly skilled in articulating their experiences of performing and offered some invaluable insights into the kinds of emotional work that they engage in as performers. One thing that came through both of their accounts was that during their performances they were able to engage with and express intimately felt emotions to an audience. Horse and Sebastian were uncertain as to exactly how this process works but, as the following quotations illustrate, they

both sensed that getting in touch with a deep seated artistic impulse was key to their performing.

Performers get in touch with a deep seated artistic impulse	
Performing can be a form of therapy	NW "...going back to this idea of performance, it's something that I'm really trying to get a grip of, you know, how it actually works. I mean what kind of emotions are you...?"
Performers can 'lose themselves' on stage, sometimes this touches the audience	R "Oh OK, no, och! You've tapped into a real difficult one there. Erm, well, not all performers are the same, but speaking for myself, erm, I find the whole experience quite erm... releasing if you like. It's erm...it's for me, it's my form of therapy because erm, I tap into a really, really deep area, I don't know what it is, and I can't really explain it, all I know is that there'll be occasions when I'm on a stage and I'm completely lost, I've just completely gone within myself, and it touches the audience, it really does touch the audience... (Horse).
Performances really 'happen' when musicians let their music flow through them	"You can't call [live performances] up like you can with a recorded performance. But it's to do with... I think musicians who open themselves up and just let their music come through them. I think when that happens, that's when you get, for me that's when it's really, really happening. [...] it's just more to do with as I say getting in touch with that very deep, artistic impulse. (Sebastian).

What seems to be happening in the moment of musical performances is that the performers are reaching within themselves to project an emotional sense of self to the audience. What performers are doing here is establishing a social relationship that is experienced as intimate. As Horse and Sebastian suggest, they are opening themselves up and letting their music flow through them in order to forge an 'intimate' connection with their audiences. These connections involve performers laying themselves bare and rendering themselves emotionally vulnerable as they express their inner-most feelings to those that are listening to them. This idea is articulated by Horse in the quotation below.

“...when I talk to the audience, I don’t talk about them, about some alien species that I have no relation to. I speak to them as if they were one. As I speak to them in a kind of erm... arms kind of stretched, erm sort of I’m vulnerable. And I don’t do that deliberately, it just sort of happens.”
(Horse).

The ‘intimate’ dialogues that performers establish with their audiences during musical performances rely on performers being musically talented and skilled in emotional work. As the following quotations suggest ideas of trust are important in the establishment of an intimate bond between performers and audiences; trust in your own and others’ musical abilities and (emotional) trust in the audiences that you are playing to.

Emotional experience of the moment of musical performances	
Playing music can become almost ‘instinctive’; performers feel the music and sense its dynamics	<p>NW “When you’re on stage what kind of things are you thinking about other than the actual music itself?”</p> <p>R “[...] What am I thinking about? (<i>clears throat</i>). If you’re actually thinking at all you’re probably... it actually comes to the point where you won’t actually be running on... it becomes a sort of subliminal thing. I know it sounds corny but, ‘cos we’ve been doing it for a good while, this is with [my main band] I mean, I wouldn’t say this with any of the other groups that I play with, but it becomes instinctive, you kind of feel there’s a change coming up, OK here it comes, boof, and you change key. (Sebastian).</p>
Singing is a powerful (almost primal) form of expression that can capture and hold the attention of audiences	<p>“...singing is a real, it’s almost a primal thing. I really believe that it’s an important thing to be able to have your voice [...] it’s quite powerful. I mean I... I... I don’t realise it at the time, I just get on and do it, but afterwards you think God, you know, putty, these people... putty in your hands, but again I never think about it at the time, I just do it you know. But I wasn’t always good like that, it’s something I think you learn and it’s learning to trust the audience.” (Horse).</p>

It would be misleading though to think that all musicians approach performing in the ways that Horse and Sebastian describe. For example, Horse stated with a certain

amount of amazement and exasperation how she had recently worked with a couple of musicians who she felt did not put themselves into the music: -

“I think that some people do look at doing music as a means to an end and I find that strange, because music is quite an emotive thing, however, if you’re looking at a spectrum anyway there will be people who are like, “OK I’ll read the dots, end of the show off and go home.” ‘Cos I couldn’t understand that, you know couldn’t understand that at all. [...] both times that I used the orchestra there were two particular players who couldn’t give a sh... a toss (*clasps hand to mouth*) I almost said something else there, without realising... [...] ...you know, there are musicians who are like (*mimics a musician shuffling music on a stand*). “What are we playing today? Right, OK... OK I’m off, I’m away home, where’s my money?”. I can’t belie... I just don’t know how that would feel, but obviously it doesn’t feel, it’s like this is my job, this is what I train to do. But how can they play feeling music? How can they play something which is rarely written in the dots? They wouldn’t be able to interpret music either then?” (Horse).

I have a certain amount of empathy with Horse’s comments. If you think back to the critique of current studies of ‘Scottish’ music that I outlined in chapter three I argued that all too often musical performances are reduced to the (re)production of music and that, in my opinion, musical performances are about more than this. They are precisely about the kinds of experiences that Horse and Sebastian describe. They are about forging ‘intimate’ relationships through musiking (*cf.* Small 1998) not (re)producing the dots on a page in a dispassionate manner.

In the above quotes the performers capture quite nicely some of the ways in which they experience themselves and their audiences during musical performances. They describe the ways in which they throw out emotional expressions of self to the audience and how, in turn they perceive the audience members to respond to it. It is

not just performers though who sense this intimate connection between themselves and audience members. The following quotations demonstrate that audience members feel the power of the relationship between themselves and performers too.

Audience experiences of the moment of musical performances	
People see each other's enjoyment of performances through their corporeal gestures. Audience members 'connect' with each other through shared emotional experiences.	R "...there's something about music that can really sort of touch you emotionally and you see it in other people as well and you feel like you're connecting." NW "Right, how do you see it in other people?" R "In the way that they move and their faces light up and everyone's like "yeah! This is good and happy and..." you know and yeah you genuinely feel that people are letting down a shell somehow, sort of breaking out and just enjoying themselves, yeah. [...] All the defences are knocked down a bit and erm... yeah, I think it's... I think music can do that. When you see that you connect with someone else, you're both appreciating the same thing. You know, that's lovely." (Siobhan).
Performers make themselves emotionally vulnerable to engage with audiences	R1 "It's in their [the performer's] heart isn't it? They're making themselves vulnerable to you. They're saying "this is me" you know. [...] Yeah it's reachin' out and touchin' someone isn't it? (Tcomm19).
Performers put themselves into their music	"It's the simple fact that people are... putting themselves into the music at that very moment, warts and all." (Kate).

These quotations reinforce the idea that the moment of musical performances is bound up with the notion of experiencing social relations with other audience members and musicians that are 'felt' to be intimate. Indeed, ideas of intimacy seem to be crucial to people's experience of the moment of musical performances. These experiences of intimate relations are manifested in a number of ways. For example, Siobhan senses that people let down their emotional guard and express emotions in more noticeable ways than they might do in other areas of 'everyday' life. Other audience members also recognise and appreciate the fact that performers seem to make themselves emotionally vulnerable to them, they reveal themselves to their

audiences and they reach out to them. As Kate describes it, performers are perceived to give themselves “warts and all” to their audiences.

Ideas of intimacy provide a useful framework for thinking about these kinds of relationships in greater depth. Indeed, even a basic definition of intimacy states that it connotes being closely acquainted with, familiar or close to someone and that ideas of intimacy are concerned with private and personal thoughts and actions (*cf.* Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1990: 622). Perhaps of greater use though is the ever-growing academic literature on ideas of intimacy. Although much of this work is based on relations that are (potentially) intimate in a bodily sense - which is not directly applicable to my work¹¹³ - there are a number of works which shed some light on how the kind of emotional relations that are constituted through musical performances ‘work’. In particular, the concepts of self-disclosure and touch, which are central to studies of intimacy, are particularly relevant to my work.

Self-disclosure is one of the central concepts in studies of intimacy (*cf.* Berlant 2000, Howell and Conway 1990 and Jamieson 1998). As Jamieson (1998) argues ‘disclosing intimacy’ is more sought after than in previous historical eras because of the particular social conditions that arose in the late twentieth century¹¹⁴. ‘Disclosing intimacy’ emphasises mutual disclosure and the constant revealing of inner thoughts and feelings to another person (*cf.* Jamieson 1998: 1). ‘Disclosing intimacy’,

¹¹³ For example, Rodaway (1994) explores the ways in which ideas of intimacy are related to haptic phenomena.

¹¹⁴ Here Jamieson (1998) cites changing familial structures and relations as being particularly influential in the growing search for ‘disclosing intimacy’.

Jamieson (1998) argues, is an intimacy of the self rather than an intimacy of the body (although intimacy of the self may be enhanced by bodily intimacy).

Jamieson's (1998) ideas seem to have a certain resonance with the ways in which people experience the social relations constituted through musical performances. Looking back over the quotations that I presented earlier, many of them point to practices of disclosing intimacy. For example, both Horse and Sebastian described how in the moment of performances there is a chemistry between audience members and performers when they engage in a mutual sharing of selves. Audience members and performers seem to *feel* the intimate nature of their relationship. Performers understand themselves to be tapping into and sharing quite deeply seated and intimately felt emotional experiences with audience members and, as some of the audience member's comments suggest, they recognise this phenomena and engage with performers who appear to make themselves emotionally vulnerable to them (*cf.* tipcomm 19 and Kate on page 252). Horse articulates this phenomenon effectively in the quotation below. She says: -

“...you make contact with people without saying anything, you touch people and all I can think of is that whatever it is I do, it's a very deep place that I don't know... erm, I tap into it and I throw it out to the audience and they empathise, they feel it, they understand what, they might not understand what it is, but they feel it.” (Horse – Scottish, late 30s, performer – 3rd April 2000).

The really interesting point that Horse makes here is that people feel the emotional power of a musical performance and they might not (indeed, they can not) understand what the emotional expression is, but they still feel it. This is important

because it means that audiences and other performers can interpret and engage with that emotional expression in a number of ways. Therefore it is possible for audiences and performers to make intensely felt emotional connections with each other, which are experienced as intimate even though the bases for those relations are largely unknown. What I argue is that in the performances that I studied the context of the 'Scottish' festival, with 'Scottish' audiences and (sometimes) 'Scottish' music and performers provides a taken-for-granted explanation for their experiences of intimacy (this will be discussed in greater depth in chapter seven). In other words, performers and audiences engage in the timespaces of intimacy opened up by musical encounters and they make sense of those emotional geographies by drawing on the notion of a shared 'Scottish' identity. 'Scottishness' is regarded as the point of connection between audience members and/or performers because often performances have been set up as being 'Scottish' in some way.

Musical performances are emotionally powerful phenomena because of the ways in which they open up timespaces for self-disclosure. Indeed, as Howell and Conway (1990) argue such self disclosure is rare in 'everyday' social interactions that occur in the 'public' sphere (see also Goffman 1963) and so the action of disclosing is perceived to be all the more intimate because of its relatively infrequent occurrence in social relations. However, self-disclosure is only one way in which ideas of intimacy can be seen to work in and through musical performances. A second way concerns conceptions of touch.

Audience members and musicians frequently used haptic metaphors in their descriptions of the kinds of social relations that they experienced during musical performances. For example, Horse spoke about 'touching' the audience with her music, Sebastian described getting in *touch* with a "very deep artistic impulse", an interviewee at T in the Park described performers as *reaching* out to the audience through their music and Siobhan talked about *feeling* people "letting down their shell" and coming out of themselves (*cf.* page 252)¹¹⁵. Rodaway (1994) describes the ways in which touch is both literally and metaphorically important to conceptions of intimacy. Touch is used (literally) to establish and affirm contact between bodies and it is used metaphorically as a device for describing relationships. For example, people keep in or lose touch with each other. However, I think that my respondents' use of haptic metaphors is slightly different to those cited in the intimacy literature.

The majority of relations that are discussed in the intimacy literature concern close personal relationships such as familial bonds or sexual relations. However, the people who are experiencing 'intimate' social relations in my study are, on the whole, complete strangers to each other¹¹⁶. Indeed, as Christopher Small argues in his work on musicking: -

"We are prepared to laugh, to weep, to shudder, to be excited, or to be moved to the depth of our being, all in the company of people the majority of whom we have never seen before, to whom we shall probably

¹¹⁵ Remember also Claire and Gregor's desire to be close to performers and audience members in order to promote a more intimate atmosphere.

¹¹⁶ I highlighted earlier in this chapter the ways in which music festivals encouraged the formation and maintenance of friendships. However, the majority of people attending performances would have been strangers.

address not a word, or a gesture, and whom we shall in all probability never see again.” (1998: 39).

There is very little that is written about how ideas of intimacy might work for relations that occur between people who are strangers. However, my research shows that experiences that are perceived to be intimate can occur between complete strangers and that these ‘intimate’ encounters are borne out of the emotional geographies that are constituted through musical performances. There is something about the way in which musical performances ‘work’ that, in the right context, can allow people to experience themselves and others in emotionally heightened ways. What I argue is that in the context of performances that are ‘set up’ as being ‘Scottish’ in some way – through playing up the fact that the event is placed in Scotland, or through the performance of various kinds of ‘Scottish’ music – these feelings of intimacy are assumed to be based on a shared connection to ‘Scottishness’.

In this chapter I have highlighted a number of areas where ideas of ‘Scottishness’ might be drawn upon as the basis for performers engaging with audience members. For example, I discussed the ways in which Martin prepared set lists that drew on ‘Scottish’ celebrations such as Burns’ Night, and how the use of spoken Gaelic in performances might reify the notion that Scots are connected by a distinctive national identity. What I want to suggest here is that in some contexts (perceived) notions of a shared Scottish identity form the basis of the social relations that are so intensely and intimately experienced at musical performances. This idea will be developed

more fully in the following chapter, but by way of a conclusion to this chapter and a precursor to the next I want to explain this argument a little more fully.

In this chapter I have explored the emotional power that is imbued within the practice and experience of musical performance. Here I argue that musical performances allow people to experience feelings of aliveness and wellbeing in ways that tend to be forgotten or downplayed in routine areas of everyday life. These experiences, I argue, are particularly apparent when musical performances 'work'. In these circumstances respondents talk about 'the moment' of musical performances where the social relations between performers and audience members are experienced in ways that are experienced as intimate. During these 'moments' audience members and performers engage with each other in ways that are intensely felt and intimately experienced. They enter into a form of communion (*cf.* Sebastian page 248) where they are bound together through the shared experience of music and the mutual sharing of selves that this affords. What I argue is that in certain circumstances this communion is forged on the assumed basis of a shared 'Scottish' national identity and that indeed, the experience of 'Scottishness' in this way reifies the notion that audience members and performers are connected by and emotionally bound to a Scottish national community. I will now explore these ideas in more depth in the following chapter.

Chapter Seven

Emotional Attachments, Intimate Encounters and the (Re)Production of 'Scottishness'

So far, I have demonstrated that expressions, experiences and understandings of 'Scottishness' in musical performances are informed and infused by the emotional geographies enacted in musical performances. Chapter five illustrated the ways in which emotional attachments to ideas of 'authentic' 'Scottishness' and Scottish musical 'traditions' have influenced Scots' experiences and understandings of what 'Scottishness' sounds like. Expanding on this, chapter six explored how musical performances constitute timespaces where the emotional dimensions of social relations are particularly heightened and suggested some ways in which ideas of 'Scottishness' might form the basis of emotional engagements between performers and audience members that are experienced as intimate.

This chapter will explore these phenomena in greater depth by thinking more explicitly about *how* and *why* people 'feel' Scottish. In doing this I argue that the ways in which people emotionally experience 'Scottishness' implicitly reinforces the legitimacy and persistence of nations and nationalism (and more specifically the 'Scottish' nation). Here I argue that the ways in which musical performances variously allow people to experience feelings of wellbeing and security plays a crucial role in the legitimacy and tenacity of nation, national identity and

nationalism. Before getting into this argument however, it is necessary to think more closely about what emotions are and how they work in processes of identity formation.

7.1 Being Emotional

Emotions are part of the ways in which human beings interact with the social and physical world in which they live. For example, Norman Denzin argues that “people are their emotions” (1984: 1), Stephan Fuchs (2001) states that emotion is a pillar of self-identity and Morwenna Griffiths (1995) suggests that emotional responses are important sources of human values and ethics. Emotions seem to imbue every aspect of human life. Humans are sentient beings that feel things in bodily ways. Indeed, Lupton states that our concepts of our emotions are: -

“often integral to our wider conception of our selves, used to give meaning and provide explanation for our lives, for why we respond to life events, other people, material artefacts and places in certain ways, why we might tend to follow patterns of behaviour throughout our lives” (1998: 6).

Despite the centrality of emotions to human life, emotions have been neglected in academic scholarship for much of the post-Enlightenment period. Lupton (1998) argues that emotions have ‘traditionally’ been regarded as irrational because they are inextricably linked to embodiment. Drawing on the work of Susan Bordo, Lupton (1998) suggests that in contrast to the clarity and will of the mind, the body has been portrayed as a primitive and dumb responder to the passions (*cf.* Bordo 1993). This

is because, as I outlined in chapter three, Enlightenment thinking was grounded in ocularcentrism and the pursuit of rational enquiry. Here it was assumed that anything that could be seen could be explored and examined in a 'rational' way. Phenomena that could not be seen or explained through visual methodologies were deemed 'irrational' and therefore unworthy of inclusion in academic enquiry (Shepherd 1991). It is because of the influence of Enlightenment thinking that both the body and the emotions have been neglected in academic thought until relatively recently.

However, as I have argued elsewhere, although the emotions are gaining increasing prominence in the social sciences there is still a curious neglect of emotion in studies of nation and nationalism (Wood 2002). Even in recent works that criticise the dispassionate and unrealistic 'rational' accounts of nation and nationalism that modernist scholars support, theorists emphasise but rarely flesh out the significance and role of emotion in their work; what emotions are and how they work is taken for granted (*cf.* Calhoun 1997, Connor 1993, Eriksen 1993, Hutchinson 1994, Penrose 2002 and A.D. Smith 1998). What I argue here is that it is only by thinking with and through emotion – through understanding what the nature of the emotional bonds that bind nations together - that people can really understand how ideas of nation and nationalism gain their power and political tenacity. In order to explain this statement more fully it is necessary to explain my understanding of emotions and their role in national identity formation.

What are emotions?

There seems to be an inextricable link between emotion and being human. Lupton (1998) suggests that, crudely speaking, emotions have been conceptualised in ways that fall into two broad groups. The first regards emotions as inherent to human beings. This group of ideas includes works that draw on Darwin's theory of emotion, which states that emotions are common to both animals and humans and are based upon primitive states of physiological arousal that involve innate instinctual drives. Darwin (1872) argues that emotions are central to survival, as they constitute reactions to threats and dangers in the surrounding environment. Darwin believes that there are a number of basic emotions such as joy, anger and distress, which are *pan-cultural* and thus found in all human populations as they are the products of human evolution (see also Ekman 2003 and 1992).

In common with evolutionary thinkers like Darwin (1872) and Ekman (2003 and 1992), cognitive theorists believe that emotions are inherent to human beings as they are states of physiological arousal. Drawing on the work of the nineteenth century psychologist and pragmatist William James (and, more specifically, the James-Lange theory of emotion, see Gordon 1999) cognitive theorists argue that humans make judgements in relation to the physical sensations that they feel and then decide which emotional state they are in. For example, people might decide that they are sad because they are crying or that they are afraid because they are trembling. Cognitive theorists are therefore interested in the relationship between bodily response, context and the individual's recognition of an emotion (*cf.* Folkman and Lazarus 1988,

Lupton 1998 and Mesquita and Frijda 1992). Both evolutionary and cognitive theories suggest that human beings are inherently emotional beings. Indeed, Evans argues that emotions are a universal language that “binds all humanity into a single family” (2001: xiv).

Although William James’ work is key to cognitive theories of emotion, cognitive theorists tend to undermine the subtlety and sophistication of James’ ideas. This is because James (1884) does argue against the then common-sense view of emotion whereby bodily experiences of emotion are merely corporeal expressions of mental states. Indeed, as James states: -

“My thesis on the contrary is that the bodily changes follow directly the PERCEPTION of the exciting fact, that our feeling of the same changes as they occur IS the emotion.” (1884: 189-190 emphasis in original).

However, as the above quote suggests James does not advocate a simple one-way relationship between a (separate) mind and body, nor does he argue that particular emotions are inherent to human beings. Rather James suggests that there is a more complex relationship between perceiving and sensing than cognitive explanations account for. Emotion is *the experience* of feeling bodily changes in response to an event. James (1884) suggests that there is virtually no temporal gap between perception, feeling, cognition and response. This idea is developed in his 1893 work on the *Principals of Psychology*. Here he argues that thinking about an emotion such as fear illustrates an almost instantaneous relationship between perception, feeling, cognition and response. James (1893) argues that someone fleeing a bear in the

woods does not see the bear and then decide that it would be best to run away, rather they see the bear with 'speeding feet'. For James, then, what is equally emphasised is not just the fact that emotions are experiences of bodily changes in response to an event, but that they seemingly occur outwith of people's control. This is because, as Katz (1999) argues, perception and response are hidden in each other. Indeed, perception, feeling, cognition and response are bound up in 'doing'.

In contrast to those theorists that think that emotions are inherent to human beings are those that believe that emotions are sociocultural constructions. These approaches broadly range from strong social constructionist positions where it is argued that emotions are sociocultural products that are wholly learnt and constructed through acculturation (see Harré 1986 and Harré and Parrott 1996) to weaker positions where it is suggested that a limited number of primary ('natural') emotions exist, which are then modified into 'secondary' emotions through sociocultural practices (see Kemper 1987 and 1991 and Armon-Jones 1986). For example, Kemper (1987) argues that shame is a socialised form of anger (a primary emotion) with the 'socialised' self.

This range of theories that believe that emotions are, to varying degrees, sociocultural constructions, can be grouped into a number of contrasting 'philosophical' approaches, which mirror popular trends in social science research more generally (Lupton 1998). For example, there are structuralist approaches to conceptualising emotions where emotions are seen to be shaped by social institutions and power relations (Hochschild 1983 and Scheff 1990), poststructuralist approaches,

which emphasise the discursive nature of emotions (Abu-Lughod and Lutz 1990 and Wetherell 1996) and psychoanalytic perspectives that offer some valuable insights into the unconscious dimensions of the emotional self (Denzin 1984 and Henriques *et al* 1984).

What all of these approaches, that I have just outlined, have in common is that they try and explain a phenomenon that is essentially invisible. It is relatively easy to study and conceptualise the outcomes of emotional experiences such as facial gestures, crying, laughter and so forth, but what is far more difficult to explain is why and from where these emotional reactions occur. Indeed, as Jack Katz asks “what is it that, being itself invisible, produces all that is visible?” (1999: 309). The approaches described above all provide plausible (albeit often incomplete) explanations for what emotions are and how they ‘work’. What is more, these theories all provide explanations of emotions, which revolve around questions of the relationships between ideas of self, identity, and others. For me though, in the context of this piece of research, the approaches to conceptualising and studying emotions that seem most plausible are those that come under the umbrella term that I describe as experiential interactionism. Such approaches can be broadly split into (European) phenomenological and (American) pragmatistic approaches¹¹⁷. Here theorists focus on the ways in which the *experience* of emotion is believed to be

integral to ideas of selfhood and the ways in which people understand and interact with each other (*cf.* Katz 1999 and Lupton 1998).

Norman Denzin whose (1984) work is grounded in ideas of phenomenology explains that, crudely speaking, emotions are *self-feelings*. However, these self-feelings are sequences of lived *emotionality*, the process of being emotional. Emotionality locates a person in the world of social interaction. This is because the process of being emotional necessarily requires both the implicit or imagined presence of others *and* reference to the self. Unlike moods, which are emotional states of mind that transcend specific situational experiences, emotions are felt in relation to an object - they are situational feelings that occur out of experiencing a phenomenon in a particular timespace (Denzin 1984 and Goldie 2000). Indeed, Martin Heidegger suggests that there is a temporal structure to emotional experience that is at once forward- and backward-looking. In order to have an emotional experience a person has to have some kind of interaction with their surrounding physical and social environment, and yet to experience emotions the person has to make sense of what they are experiencing by referring to the self (Heidegger 1980 [1927]). As Merleau-Ponty (1962) argues, a physical sensation can only ever be understood as an emotion in the context in which it is experienced. Emotion is therefore much more than an inner feeling (as evolutionary and cognitive theorists would suggest), it is a situated,

¹¹⁷ I put these two terms together under the term experiential interactionism because there are similarities between these ideas, which were developed at roughly the same time on either side of the Atlantic. There are differences between phenomenological and pragmatist explanations of emotion. For example, phenomenologists tend to emphasise the importance of intersubjectivity whereas pragmatists emphasise the relevance of symbolic interactionism. In other words, the latter highlights the ways in which individual consciousness emerges and is sustained through a process of taking the standpoint of others on oneself (*cf.* Katz 1999). However, as I will demonstrate shortly, perhaps the

relational, reflective and intersubjective phenomenon, which joins human beings to each other and is produced through these interactions with others (*cf.* Denzin 1984 and Lupton 1998).

As this brief description of phenomenological approaches suggests, there are a number of links with the more nuanced reading of James (1884 and 1893) that I outlined earlier. In particular, Denzin's (1984) explanation of emotions as *self-feelings* could almost be taken straight from James (1884) writing a century earlier¹¹⁸. Indeed, Denzin himself highlights the influence that James has had on theories of emotion. According to Denzin (1984) James' (1884) has been critiqued (amongst other things) for being grounded too heavily in physiology and neglecting more psychological explanations (see also Damasio 1994). Therefore Denzin (1984) tends to regard James' (1884) work as the foundation upon which more nuanced psychological (and phenomenological) explanations have been developed. However, whilst there are many similarities between James' approach and those of phenomenologists, there is perhaps a significant difference which has been overlooked. James (1884) was a pragmatist – something which is generally played down in the emotions literature – and therefore believed that knowledge claims are attached to actions (see Benton and Craib 2001 and James 1932 and 1947).

most significant differences (in the context of my work) comes from the methodological bases of these philosophies.

¹¹⁸ Damasio (1994) rightly argues that James was ahead of his time in developing his theory of emotion and suggests that James' work is even more developed and nuanced than some contemporary works on emotion.

Pragmatistic approaches involve a 'dynamic' study of phenomena as they are in the 'doing' (S.J. Smith 1984 and 2001). Phenomenology, however, relies on an empirical exercise known as reduction (Benton and Craib 2001). Here phenomenology attempts to set aside what is already known about something and describes how people come to know it; it is precisely about tracing the processes through which human beings give meaning to the world. For me this difference in methodology is significant and may offer, at least in part, an explanation for why James' work is grounded in physiology. This is because, as a pragmatist, he was most interested in the ways in which people experience emotions *in action*.

For me, experiential interactionist approaches and, in particular, pragmatistic approaches are particularly useful precisely because they do not offer any neat explanation for the ways in which emotions work which transcend the experiences of those that feel emotions¹¹⁹. In the context of my work it seems that what is important is to understand the role that emotions play in the formation and experience of ideas of 'Scottishness', not to explain how emotions 'work' *per se*. In particular, the pragmatistic approach is useful for my work because this way of thinking is consistent with the ways in which I argued identity is formed in chapter three. Here I argued that identity is not an 'entity' *per se*, but a *process* (*cf.* Butler 1999, Calhoun 1997, Craib 1998, Jenkins 1996 and Williams 1977). If a pragmatistic approach to emotions is adopted, then emotions become significant in this process of identity formation. This is because those (inter)actions that are necessary for the formation

¹¹⁹ S.J. Smith (1984 and 2001) provides one of the earliest overviews of the usefulness of ideas of pragmatism in geographical research. See also Thrift (1996).

of identity are also the very processes that constitute emotionality. Therefore, if the pragmatistic approach is adopted then it becomes impossible to detach emotion from identity formation. This seems to support the empirical evidence that I have presented thus far which suggests that ideas of 'Scottishness' are experienced within and through emotions. I now want to think about the relationship between emotions and national identities in a little more depth by thinking about the relationship between self, (national) identity and emotion.

Self, (National) Identity and Emotion

Jenkins (1996) argues that the word identity has two basic meanings. The first is a concept of absolute sameness: this is identical to that. The second is a "concept of distinctiveness which presumes consistency or continuity over time" (Jenkins 1996: 3). The notion of identity therefore simultaneously establishes two possible relations of comparison between people: similarity and difference. For Jenkins (1996) identity is always a social process. Identities are formed through the process of people identifying themselves as being either similar or different from other people or phenomena. Jenkins argues that in practising identification people locate themselves in the social world. However, as Craib (1998) argues there is a significant omission from Jenkins' (1996) work in that he does not engage with ideas of the self. In other words, Jenkins (1996) emphasises the importance of identification without stating what it is that is being drawn on in this process.

Craib (1998) argues that people are not simply collections of temporally and spatially dynamic identities, rather there is a more stable self, which forms the foundation of

all social identities. In other words, Craib argues that social identity formation is always carried out in negotiation with the self; “*my* identity is not the same as my *social* identities” (1998: 4 emphasis in the original). Craib (1998) argues that social identities can come and go, but the identity of the self (‘my’ identity) is a constant presence that unites all the social identities that a person has had, has, or ever will have. There are a number of different ways in which the interaction between self and identity (or identities) can be explored. One approach that has gained considerable currency in recent years is psychoanalysis (see Bondi 1999, Freud 1989, Klein 1979, Kristeva 1982 and 1990, and Sibley 1995). However, an alternative approach that has received less attention is pragmatism (S.J. Smith 1984, 1988 and 2001). In keeping with the methodological framework that has been employed in this thesis I will draw on these less well known pragmatistic theories of self and identity.

Mead (1934) argues that the self is not present at birth *per se*, but arises in the process of social experience and activity (see S.J. Smith 1988). In other words, the self continually develops in any given individual as a result of their relations to the very process of development and to the other individuals within that process. Mead (1934) argues that it is impossible for the self to form outside of social interactions. The self, according to Mead (1934 and 1936) is a social self for two reasons. First, because in the process of development, the self forms in relation to the attitudes, behaviours and responsibilities of the community in which the self is developing. Second, the self is a social self because, as a result of this process of development, the self necessarily takes on the structure of the society of which it is part.

This idea is significant when considered in the context of ideas of nation and nationalism. If it is taken that all people are born into a national community of some sort then, Mead (1934 and 1936) suggests, people's senses of self will develop in relation to the attitudes, behaviours and beliefs that a national community 'projects' through various social and cultural activities (such as musical performances). However, the ways in which the self develops in relation to these phenomena will be unique for each person. This is because, as Penrose (1995) suggests, the self is formed not only through social activity but also in relation to two sets of characteristics, which are usually considered to be unchangeable and which, in combination, make each person 'unique'. These are characteristics associated with genetic makeup (such as sex and skin colour) and the conditions of people's birth (place and descent) (Penrose 1995). In the context of my work Penrose's (1995) argument is, in effect, a highly relevant codicil to Mead's theory as it suggests that the ways in which the self develops in relation to social experiences and activities is neither simple nor straightforward. However, Mead's basic premise remains that the self develops in relation to social activity and that in the context of nations and nationalism the self will develop in relation to *national* behaviours and beliefs.

Mead, whilst providing a plausible argument of the development of self says very little about identity. I find Craib's (1998) argument that self and identity, although interlinked, are essentially different attractive, but I do not agree with the notion that the identity of the self ('my' identity) is the kind of constant presence that he suggests. Indeed, the weight of literature that implicitly supports Mead's notion of a constantly developing self seems to present a far more plausible explanation (see

Cumming 2000, Einagel 2002, Grosz 1999a, Marshy 2002, Stanley and Wise 1993, and Turkle 1995). In these works the self is understood to develop in relation to constantly changing social and cultural circumstances.

Kathryn Woodward (1997) potentially offers some conceptual clarity with regards to the relationship between self and identity. Woodward (1997) suggests that self involves the conscious and unconscious thoughts that constitute our sense of 'who we are' (in other words our subjectivity). Yet, we experience our sense of self (and as Mead 1934 and 1936 highlights this sense of self is indeed created) in a social context where language and culture give meaning to our experience of our self. Woodward (1997) suggests that the way in which we make sense of our self is through the adoption of identities. Selves position themselves (and thus make sense of themselves) in the social and cultural world by taking up identities¹²⁰. However, as Woodward argues this process of taking identities is not easy or straightforward. As Woodward states:

“Subjectivity [our sense of self] can be irrational as well as rational. We can be or would like to be clear-headed, rational agents, but we are subject to forces beyond our control. The concept of subjectivity allows for an exploration of the feelings which are brought and the personal investment which is made in positions of identity and of the reasons why we are attached to particular identities.” (1997: 39).

What are down-played in this explanation of the connections between self and identity are emotions. If, as Denzin (1984) and James (1884) argue emotions are

¹²⁰ Here I would add that people not only take up identities, rather they play with them and modify them through cultural practices such as musicking (see Frith 1996a).

self-feelings, then it seems pretty clear that processes of identification and identity formation are inherently emotional and emotive phenomena. As Woodward (1997) suggests the concept of subjectivity allows us to explore the notion that individuals personally invest in those identities that are most useful for their self. This idea, that there is an intentionality in the identities that people adopt is not 'new' *per se*. As I outlined in chapter three, where I discussed the links between performance and identity, Goffman (1971) argues that identity formation is an intentional human practice¹²¹. However, where Woodward's (1997) argument does differ is that she suggests that this process of intentionality in processes of identity formation is not necessarily 'rational' precisely because the process is emotional. Connor's (1993) notion of 'non-rationality' is useful here. It is not that identity formation is rational or irrational, rather it is *non-rational*.

With this in mind, it seems that people intentionally adopt and adapt identities in order to make sense of and position themselves in a wider social and cultural world. However, Woodward (1997) suggests that some people may adopt certain identities for reasons that lie outside of 'rational' considerations. As I look back over some of the comments that respondents made about their national identities it seems that ideas of intentionality seem to be highly significant. Indeed, I argue that part of the allure of engaging with ideas of 'Scottishness' is that it makes Scots feel more emotionally secure and/or it makes them feel good about themselves as both an individual and a member of a wider (national) community. However, I also argue

¹²¹ Here Goffman (1971) draws on the concept of 'front' to argue that people strategically draw on "pre-established patterns of action" in order to socialise and communicate with others in particular and desirable ways.

that part of the reason why ideas of 'Scottishness' are so alluring is because some Scots perceive themselves to have some 'natural' affinity to a 'Scottish' community and 'Scottish' ways of being. Before exploring this idea in more depth though it is necessary to explore *how* people feel 'Scottish'.

7.2 Feeling 'Scottish'

My research suggests that powerful expressions of 'Scottishness' come from descriptions and explanations of 'Scottishness' that involve being surrounded by, interacting with, and sharing musical experiences with other Scots. More specifically, experiences of 'Scottishness' are understood to centre on sharing emotional experiences with 'Scottish' audiences, connecting with 'Scottish' performers and experiencing 'Scottish' music. In chapter five I explored some of the ways in which people understood various kinds of music to be 'Scottish'. These included the recognition of formal compositional styles, rhythmic and melodic forms, instruments, and languages and accents as signifiers of 'Scottishness'. In chapter six I went on to suggest that 'Scottish' performers use elements of 'Scottishness', such as 'Scottish' tunes and songs as a basis for drawing audience members into the timespaces of musical performances and forging relationships with them that were perceived to be intimate (this argument will be expanded upon in this chapter). However, 'Scottishness' was also experienced in musical performances where there were no signifiers of 'Scottishness' in the music *per se*. Instead 'Scottishness' was experienced through sharing the experience of musical

performances with other Scots. This is demonstrated in the following interview exchange: -

NW “Do you think there’s anything particularly Scottish about T in the Park?”

R2 “Oh aye, definitely. [...] I think it’s our only real music festival. Well it isn’t but, you know, it’s the big one in Scotland, so I think that everybody gets all kind of patriotic and they all come here and stuff. I’ve got a Saltire with me and a few of my mates have and we’ll all just like...(*mimes dancing with a flag*).”

[...]

NW “What do you think makes you feel more Scottish, is it the people or the place or the music...?”

R2 “[...] I think if you’re in a group with people and erm they’re all Scottish and there’s something going on like this then you’ll feel a bit more Scottish, you’ll get the flags up and everything [...]. I think that it’s just all being together and all going yeah... you know?” (Tcomm8).

This quote is from a respondent who took a flag along to T in the Park so that she could join in with the ‘patriotic’ spirit of the event. The potential significance of the flag is interesting. Billig (1995) argues that symbolic representations of nationhood are important because they constantly remind people of the persistence of nations and the fact that ‘we’ all have a national identity. Edensor (2002) rightly warns that flags are polysemic phenomena, so their meanings and roles within processes of nation formation cannot be simply read or taken for granted. However, in this case, it seems that the respondent was using her Saltire as an expression of her national identity and as a means of making connections to and placing herself within a community of Scots.

This phenomenon has been documented by Anthony Cohen (1985), who suggests that symbolic signifiers such as flags can play a significant role in the construction of

(national) communities¹²². This is because they act as a kind of referent around which social groups can construct 'shared' meanings. What is significant here is that symbolic signifiers like flags do not signify a meaning *per se*, rather they give social groups the *ability to make meanings* (A. Cohen 1985). This is because symbolic signifiers by their very nature encourage multiple interpretations. However their polysemic nature tends to be disguised, so symbolic signifiers such as flags allow members of a national community to think that all community members make sense of symbolic representations in the same way (A. Cohen 1985). Indeed, flags not only remind Scots that they are 'Scottish' but they can also trigger all kinds of feelings about what it means to be 'Scottish' and why people might be feeling Scottish in the context in which they are displayed.

What is important to note in the exchange that is outlined above, is that the respondent displays her Scottish flag because she feels 'Scottish' by being in the presence of so many other Scots at a musical event that she perceives to be 'Scottish'. Therefore, for her, feelings of 'Scottishness' are triggered through the social context that she is in and the social relations that she is experiencing rather than the presence of the flag *per se*. It is through the sharing of a musical experience ("it's just all being together and all going yeah") that she feels 'Scottish'. The respondent is sharing an emotional experience with a group of people who, outwardly, seem to be experiencing the performance in the same way. She cannot know why a group of people are reacting and behaving in the ways that they are, but

¹²² Cohen (1985) does not talk specifically about national communities, but I argue that his more general thesis on community formation can be applied in this context.

she *feels* that these emotional reactions are, in some way, forged out of a shared sense of 'Scottishness'. Indeed, it seems to me that she uses her Saltire to celebrate the emotional bond that she feels with other 'Scottish' audience members.

But what are these feelings of 'Scottishness' that respondents such as the one above experience and what do they say about the ways in which ideas of 'Scottishness' gain their emotional power? As the following discussion demonstrates emotional experiences of 'Scottishness' are complex and heterogeneous in nature. Quite often respondents talk about a combination of feelings, which they attribute to an experience of 'Scottishness'. Through this complexity though emerges a number of strands of thought which clearly point to specific ways in which people emotionally experience 'Scottishness'. Indeed, in the context of my research I argue that there are two interrelated ideas that dominate the ways in which 'Scottishness' is emotionally experienced through the musical performances that I studied. The first is through sharing an experience with a national community who are perceived to share certain (national) characteristics and traits and the second is through feelings of pride in belonging to a 'Scottish' nation.

As the following quotations demonstrate the notion of engaging with particular ('Scottish') ways being at musical performances is significant for the ways in which Scots feel 'Scottishness'.

'Scottishness' as belonging to a national community with shared characteristics and traits

<p>Scottishness as a kind of buzz</p> <p>Scots have a universal (good) way of behaving</p>	<p>NW "Do you think there's anything particularly 'Scottish' about T in the Park?"</p> <p>R3 "There's a real catch to it, you know what I mean? You would nae get that kind of buzz anywhere else."</p> <p>R2 "You would nae like. People comin' here because you... it's the same as why everyone comes out for New Year. What Scottish people want is a big ceilidh that's why everybody comes to T in the Park as well. We've got a way universally because we have the same good attitude and that, you know what I'm sayin'?" (Tcomm15)</p>
<p>Feeling 'Scottish' is exhilarating</p> <p>There's a 'Scottish' way of thinking</p>	<p>NW "Do you feel more 'Scottish' by being here?"</p> <p>R "Yeah."</p> <p>NW "Can you describe what it feels like?"</p> <p>R "I dunno. It's quite exhilarating you know to come and to be with like so many other Scots. I mean I'm at university in St. Andrews and er... it's very Anglofied there and I mean for me this is a great, you know break from uni and I just want to get into the sort of Scottish way of thinking." (Tcomm29)</p>

These two quotations suggest that emotional experiences of 'Scottishness', for them, involve feelings of excitement and exhilaration. In the first quote one of the respondents states that T in the Park is 'Scottish' because there's a "real catch" to the event. In other words, there is something distinctive in the atmosphere at the festival that he recognises to be 'Scottish' and that draws him into the occasion. For him the ('Scottish') 'catch' is described as a kind of 'buzz' – a feeling of energy and excitement – that is peculiar to the event. The respondent's friend agrees with this statement and goes on to suggest that the 'buzz' is created by the presence of a group of Scots who all want to have a good time. He likens the kind of atmosphere that is found at T in the Park to that created at New Year¹²³ and suggests that the reasons why these atmospheres are produced is because Scots want a "big ceilidh". Today

¹²³ The celebration of New Year, or Hogmanay holds particular significance in Scotland. Indeed, unlike the rest of Britain, New Year has 'traditionally' been regarded in Scotland as a more important celebration than Christmas. So much so that Christmas Day was only made a public holiday in Scotland in the 1950s (Cusick 1997).

the term ceilidh is most popularly used to describe an event where people meet and partake in 'traditional' 'Scottish' dancing, but etymologically ceilidh (or *céilidh*) is the Gaelic term used to describe, more generally, 'a visit' (MacLennan 1979). In other words, it connotes meeting and socialising with other people. The respondent states that this form of sociability is 'universal' amongst Scots ("we've got a way universally") and that all Scots have "the same good attitude". So, for these respondents feelings of 'Scottishness' are connected to experiencing the atmosphere that is created through some universal way of being. It is about expressing and reifying some kind of collective identity.

In the second quote the respondent states that she feels more 'Scottish' by being at T in the Park. Although she finds it difficult to describe what exactly 'Scottishness' feels like she suggests that it involves a feeling of exhilaration that she experiences when she is amongst so many other Scots. The respondent suggests that this feeling might be particularly heightened or noticeable after spending time in the 'Anglofied' atmosphere of St Andrews. She suggests that, for her, T in the Park is an event where she can (re)connect with 'Scottishness' through getting into a 'Scottish' way of thinking. Just as the first quote suggested that Scots have a universal way about them (*cf.* Tcomm 15) this respondent suggests that there is a singular, 'Scottish' way of thinking. In other words, these respondents suggest that being 'Scottish' and feeling 'Scottish' involves particular ways of thinking and behaving; 'Scottishness' is bound up with a distinctive way of *being* and *doing*.

It is not only Scots though that recognise certain social traits amongst audience members at T in the Park to be 'Scottish'. Perhaps the clearest description of 'Scottish' ways of being and doing is expressed in the following exchange between an English audience member and myself.

NW "Do you think that there's anything particularly 'Scottish' at T in the Park?"

R "Yeah, everythin'."

NW "Really? What in particular?"

R "It's basically, it's the way everybody's... there's no trouble, everybody's so relaxed, welcoming, they say hello to people. I mean they have a beer, they get drunk, but there's no violence or anythin'. Everybody's comfortable with everyone else." (Tcomm4).

This quotation reinforces the notion that there are ways of being and doing that are recognised to be 'Scottish'. It not simply that Scots 'imagine' themselves to share particular cultural traits, rather there is something that is perceptibly 'Scottish' about T in the Park even to some non-Scots. In the context of T in the Park the respondent suggests that 'Scottishness' involves a certain kind of friendliness and sociability that is based on inclusive and non-threatening behaviour even when drunk.

Bourdieu (1984) used the term 'habitus' to describe this phenomenon whereby members of a social group share modes of conduct, taste and feeling. According to Bourdieu (1984) these shared traits might be largely unconscious, but as previous quotes demonstrate some Scottish people seem to be at least partially aware of the ways in which Scots are perceived to share particular social and cultural traits. In the context of my work this is significant because it means that not only are selves developing in a social context where there are particular ways of doing and being

(which as Mead 1934 and 1936 suggests will influence the ways in which selves are formed) but they are developing within a social milieu that is *recognisably* 'Scottish'. Therefore people who could potentially understand themselves to be 'Scottish' can adopt and adapt an identity that is recognisably 'Scottish'. This is significant because, as Woodward (1997) suggests, people might intentionally adopt a 'Scottish' identity because they perceive it to be useful (in some way) for themselves. I will return to this argument shortly.

I argue that ideas of 'Scottishness' are particularly alluring because of the ways in which Scots perceive themselves to be connected to a 'Scottish' habitus. Drawing on the writings of Norbert Elias, Mennell (1994) argues that the idea of habitus seemingly implies that shared social and cultural traits are 'natural'. According to Mennell, Elias used the term *second nature* as a descriptor of habitus, but Mennell argues that in this context second nature is "an *acquired* tendency that has become instinctive" (Mennell 1994: 177, emphasis added). For me this partially explains why the idea of forging a national identity is so attractive. Woodward (1997) argues that people intentionally choose identities that are useful for their sense of self, but if Mennell's argument is taken seriously then it seems that national identities may seem particularly alluring because they are perceived to be 'natural'. Indeed, the social and cultural characteristics of any given habitus gain a particular potency because of their taken-for-granted qualities, so the components of the habitus of an individual's own group seem to be "inherent, innate and "natural"" (Mennell 1994: 177). However, as Mennell (1994) argues there is nothing natural *per se* about social and cultural traits; these 'acquired tendencies' become 'innate' and 'natural' through

social and cultural practices (see also Penrose 1995). Indeed, it is precisely through practices such as those performed by audience members and musicians at events such as Celtic Connections and T in the Park that 'Scottish' ways of being and doing are (re)produced and reified. This will be discussed in more depth a little later on. However, before doing this it is necessary to outline a second (albeit connected) way in which people experience feelings of 'Scottishness'. Here I refer to the ways in which people experience 'Scottishness' as feelings of pride in belonging to a 'Scottish' nation.

From interview responses it seems that there are a range of 'triggers' that elicit feelings of pride in being a member of a 'Scottish' nation. As the following quotations illustrate for some people 'Scottishness' is triggered by experiences of 'Scottish' performers. These kinds of responses were particularly significant for audience members who attended Travis' concert at T in the Park. Travis' have a 'special' and much publicised link to T in the Park as it was whilst playing at this event in 1994 that the band was 'spotted' as a potentially successful commercial act (Clumpas 2000 and Robertson 2000). From these modest beginnings Travis have grown into a highly successful band¹²⁴ and returned to T in the Park in 2000 as a headline act. Indeed, they were given the most prestigious role of being the 'finale act' on the Main Stage. This was the first time that a 'Scottish' band had been given this honour (Knowles 2000). As the quotations below illustrate Travis' performance elicited feelings of 'Scottishness' in some audience members.

¹²⁴ For example, Travis' second album 'The Man Who' (which has sold 2.4 million copies to date) won them Best Album and Best British Group at the Brit Awards in 2000 (<http://www.travisonline.com> accessed on 03/10/03).

'Scottishness' as a feeling of pride in 'Scottish' performers	
Performers understand what it feels like to be 'Scottish'	NW Why do you think that is [that you feel more Scottish when you listen to Travis]? R "It... I don't know it's like pride. They understand what we... we understand like, being Scottish. In their guts if you know what I mean."
Feels a sense of cohesion	NW "So is it kinda almost like a link between you do you think?" R "Yeah, yeah. Yeah indeed, you will find that there's a lot of people, Scottish people like that. You know other people who are Scottish an' that, it's like an instant bond." (Tcomm34).
It makes people feel patriotic when people see 'their own kind' playing on a prestigious stage	NW "Does [Travis'] music make you feel any more Scottish at all or...?" R "Er.... Well, aye I think it does. I think it makes you feel all sort of patriotic when you see some of your own kind comin' back and playin' on a stage like that. You know, it's really good."
Travis are 'home grown'.	NW "So is it, I mean, in what sense are you patriotic about it, I mean..." R "Well it's nice to see a Scottish band coming up and playing the closin' scenes of T in the Park you know. I mean you've had bands from everywhere, you've had Moby from Canada, Fun Lovin' Criminals, everybody's here from all kinds of countries and to have a band like that it's like... it's home grown, it's your own folk kind of thing. You just feel really proud for them." (Tcomm32).

Both respondents state that Travis' performance provoked feelings of 'Scottishness' in them. They each felt a connection to the band that was expressed through feelings of pride in a shared 'Scottish' identity. Interestingly, the way in which he articulates this shared identity is, in itself, illustrative of the bond that he feels between himself and the band. He says "they understand what we... we understand like, being Scottish". The respondent moves from distancing Travis from himself by using the pronoun 'they' to describe Travis, to using the more inclusive pronoun 'we'; "we understand like, being Scottish". Mennell (1994) argues that the formation of 'we-images' and 'we-identities' is crucial to the formation of social groups and, in turn, nations. This is because the use of the word 'we' signals the existence of some form of collective identity or bond.

This respondent then goes on to suggest that this bond is based (in part, at least) on the fact that he imagines Scots to have a 'gut feeling' about being 'Scottish'. Indeed, he goes on to state that this 'gut feeling' about being 'Scottish' acts as an 'instant bond' between Scots. What seems to be happening here is that the respondent is imagining that Scots are unifying around some shared experience of 'Scottishness' that he, himself feels. In a similar vein, the second respondent suggests that there is a bond between herself and Travis because they are "your own folk" and they are "home grown". She expresses that she feels patriotic when she sees her "own kind" playing at such a prestigious occasion. What is particularly interesting about these quotes is the language that they use. There is an ambiguity about describing Scottishness as a kind of gut feeling or using terms such as "your own folk", "your own kind" and "home grown". They could refer to a bond that is based on the notion of a shared cultural heritage, but these terms could also refer to a bond of kinship that is based on a blood ties. As I will argue later, this ambiguity is symptomatic of ideas of kinship.

It is not just at T in the Park though that Scots experience feelings of 'Scottishness' through the presence and actions of performers. Fraser, one of the audience members from Celtic Connections explained how Runrig provoked feelings of 'Scottishness' within him. If the reader thinks back to chapter five Fraser claimed that Runrig (and bands like them) were instrumental in him becoming proud of his Gaelic heritage. What is interesting in the following quotation is that it is not only the presence of 'Scottish' performers (as with the case of Travis) that influences his

experience of 'Scottishness' but it is also the music that they play that is significant in Fraser's experience of pride.

"[Runrig] started playing all this stuff and really it was very very Scottish and... Scottish, but rocky as well, it really got you... it really a... I suppose a primal type feeling going on somehow... it was definitely Scottish music and you felt proud of it because, well I'm proud to be Scottish myself but, you felt something towards them, so yeah, I mean sometimes it can be like that." (Fraser).

For Fraser, Runrig's music stirs a "primal type feeling" in him. His use of the term primal connotes a kind of primitiveness in the way in which he experiences their music. It seems that for Fraser the combination of 'Scottish' and 'rock' characteristics really captures Fraser's attention and imagination. There is something about this combination that really stirs something in Fraser. He feels proud of the music because he understands himself to have a cultural affinity to it, but he also feels a connection with the musicians because they are playing music that stirs feelings of 'Scottishness' in him.

I will say more about the significance and role of these kinds of emotional experiences that I have just outlined in the following section. But, as a preface to this later discussion, I want to briefly discuss the role of pride in experiences of 'Scottishness'. As the above quotes demonstrate, feelings of pride were one of the main ways in which people explain their experience of 'Scottishness'. According to Scheff (1994a), this is significant because pride generates and signals a secure social bond – this certainly seems to be evident in the quotations from Tcomm32 and Tcomm34 on page 283. In other words, feelings of pride seem to reify the idea that

people are connected through their national identity and indeed, that nations are constituted through the social and psychological bond that exists between a group of people (Connor 1993 and Scheff 1994b). However, the bases of these feelings of pride seem to revolve around what are commonly understood to be experiences of primordial ties (Calhoun 1997, Geertz 1993, Grosby 1994 and Shils 1957). Indeed, ideas of primordial ties – and in particular the feelings of closeness and familiarity that are experienced as ‘primordial ties’ – seem to underpin many of the experiences of ‘Scottishness’ that were expressed by respondents.

I highlighted in chapter two that there are three variants of primordialism; ‘popular and nationalist’, ‘sociobiological’ and ‘cultural and cognitive’. As I look at some of the quotes that I outlined above there seem to be some links between audience members’ descriptions and/or explanations of their emotional experiences of ‘Scottishness’ and some of these theories of primordialism. For example, those comments that suggest that there is a ‘Scottish’ way of thinking (Tcomm29), behaving (Tcomm4) and being (Tcomm15) seem to have connections to Herder’s notion of *volkgeist*, where Herder believed in the existence of a national character or national soul (Penrose and May 1991). Similarly, those explanations of feeling ‘Scottish’ that suggest that experiencing ‘Scottishness’ is connected to experiencing “your own kind” or “your own folk” (tipcomm32) could be seen to lean more towards sociobiological explanations of primordialism. This variant is epitomised by the work of van den Berghe (1978) who argues that ethnic relations and in turn nations are ‘naturally’ formed from extensions of kinship bonds. In other words, he

suggests that members of a nation are joined by the congruities of blood and shared ancestry.

For me though, the cultural and cognitive variant of primordialism seems to have the most to say about the interviewees' responses. This is because although some of the Scots that I interviewed describe their emotional experiences in terms of primordial ties, none of them suggest that there is some 'natural' link between Scots *per se*. In other words, some respondents may describe their emotional experiences of 'Scottishness' using the *language* of primordialism, but none of them spoke of Scots being literally connected by congruities of blood or kinship. Geertz (1993) [1973], one of the main proponents of this cultural and cognitive variant of primordialism reminds us that primordial ties do not have to be 'natural' *per se*. Indeed, he argues that culture plays a role in the experience of primordial ties as it is through culture that primordial ties such as kinship, language use and social practices become the "assumed 'givens' of social existence" (Geertz 1993: 259, emphasis added). So primordial ties acquire an assumed naturalness rather than being natural *per se*.

There is of course a resonance here with Mennell's (1994) work on 'we-identities'. However, there is a difference between the social and cultural traits that Mennell (1994) describes and Geertz's (1993) primordial ties. Drawing on Bourdieu's (1984) notion of habitus, Mennell (1994) argues that people forge emotional attachments to social groups through the perceived sharing of modes of conduct, taste and feeling. However, the feelings of 'Scottishness' that were articulated at T in the Park and Celtic Connections seem to be more than simple attachments to cultural practices.

Indeed, they seem to connote senses of closeness and familiarity that are more commonly associated with notions of kinship (*cf.* Connor 1993 and Geertz 1993 [1973]). Ideas of kinship have 'traditionally' been played down by modernist and instrumentalist scholars (as I explained in chapter two), but as Connor (1993) argues it is precisely the emotional attachments that people have to ideas of kinship that gives ideas of nation and nationalism their emotional power. Indeed, he argues that:

"In ignoring or denying the sense of kinship that infuses the nation, scholars have been blind to that which has been thoroughly apparent to nationalist leaders. In sharpest contrast with most academic analysts of nationalism, those who have successfully mobilized nations have understood that at the core of ethnopsychology is the sense of shared blood, and they have not hesitated to appeal to it." (Connor 1993: 197).

Connor's (1993) and Geertz's (1993) emphasis on the importance of kinship and a sense of shared blood is undoubtedly significant. Ignoring the emotional power of these ideas is not just conceptually inadequate for studies of nation and nationalism it is also politically irresponsible. This is because, as a number of commentators have noted, concepts of kinship and shared blood have lain at the heart of those ideologies of nation and nationalism that have led to widespread violence and killing in many areas of the world (*cf.* Anderson 1991, Balakrishnan 1996, Bracewell 2000, Connor 2001, Ignatieff 1994a, Mann 2001, Painter 1995 and Tejerina 2001).

Given the centrality of ideas of kinship to some theories of nation and nationalism it is surprising how little is said about what kinship is¹²⁵. It tends to be treated as a

¹²⁵ This is particularly surprising given Gellner's early (anthropological and philosophical) interest in kinship. See Gellner 1957 and 1960.

rather straightforward term that refers to a relationship that emerges out of perceived consanguinity (*cf.* Balakrishnan 1996, Connor 1993 and Shils 1957). However, anthropological studies reveal a more complex and contested notion of kinship (see Feinberg and Ottenheimer 2001). Kinship can refer to consanguinity (Feinberg 2001 and Parkin 1997), but it can also refer to non-sanguineous relationships based on shared characteristics or qualities. Schneider (1984) suggests that kinship is not a state of being – everyone does not automatically experience it - rather it is a product of doing. Therefore, Schneider argues that kinship should be regarded as an empirical question rather than a universal fact (*cf.* 1984: 200). Writing in the context of familial kinship Schneider (1984) argues that it is not notions of shared blood *per se* that create kinship bonds rather it is through social and cultural practices (which may or may not overlay blood ties) that kinship is produced¹²⁶.

What is significant about Schneider's (1984) work for theories of nation and nationalism is that he argues that non-sanguineous kinships are always experienced *as if they were based on senses of shared blood* (see also Read 2001, and Rivers 1924). Schneider's (1984) conception of kinship is subtly (but significantly) different from that espoused by Connor (1993). Connor (1993) argues that the core of ethnopsychology *is* a sense of shared blood. Whilst it is undeniable that in some cases this is true¹²⁷ (see Ignatieff 1994a and Mann 2001) I argue that kinship does not

¹²⁶ Schneider (1984) argues that people who are related by blood do not necessarily experience bonds of kinship, therefore it is the social and cultural practices that overlay these bonds that are crucial for kinship formation. Indeed, Schneider (1984) argues that social and cultural practices can create bonds of kinship even where there is no blood relationship. Here the kinship that some adopted children and their adoptive parents experience is illustrative.

¹²⁷ Indeed, in the context of Connor's (1993) work a sense of shared blood seems to be highly significant to the emotional power of ideas of nation and nationalism.

always have to be based on a sense of shared blood. Indeed, other phenomena such as shared cultural practices (in the context of my work) and religion seem to be just as powerful in facilitating feelings of 'national kinship' (*cf.* Dowler 1998 and Martin 1997). But, perhaps more importantly, it seems that people often do not know why they experience their national identities (and the feelings of kinship and pride that are experienced through national identity). In the context of my work, I learnt that people can experience 'Scottishness' in really quite powerful ways without necessarily knowing why they experienced the feelings that they did. So people's understandings of what emotional experiences of 'Scottishness' are and why they occur are full of conceptual gaps. The following quotation is a good example of this and comes from an on-the-spot interview at T in the Park where the respondent stated that she experienced feelings of 'Scottishness' at the event. The following exchange took place when I tried to ascertain how and why she felt 'Scottish'.

NW "What does that [feeling Scottish] feel like?"

R "Proud, pride. I'm very proud of my country. It's probably because of all the history we've got, you know. [...]"

NW "Do you physically feel that?"

R "Yes! A pride welling up inside me, you know, [...] the hairs on your back stand up and och it's great. I can't describe it. I don't know why that is to be honest, I really don't. [...]"

NW "It's funny how we can't describe these things though isn't it?"

R "I can't. I wish I had the words for you, but I don't. It's just like a kind of pride welling up. It's the only thing that I can think of and you feel good about yourself, you feel good about your country and even your friends and that." (Tcomm8).

What is significant about this quotation is that there is no doubt that the respondent feels 'Scottish' and, even though she states that she is unable to describe what it feels like, she does offer a really nice description of her experience of 'Scottishness'. She

physically experiences a feeling of pride welling up within her, the hairs on her back stand up and, for her, it feels great, but she cannot describe why she has these feelings. The crucial thing is that whilst she cannot explain the reasons for her experience, she *knows* that it makes her feel good about herself, her country and the people that she is sharing the experience with. For me, this epitomises the power of ideas of nation and nationalism. People do not have to understand how feelings of 'Scottishness' are triggered or even what 'Scottishness' really feels like in order to understand that it is a powerful phenomenon that promotes some sense of social wellbeing. Engaging with and experiencing 'Scottishness' is a positive activity that can make Scots feel good about themselves.

This is not the first time though that the connection has been made between 'Scottishness' and ideas of wellbeing, in the broadest sense of the term. Looking back over the quotations featured in this chapter (and indeed some of the comments in chapters five and six) experiencing 'Scottishness' in musical performances seems to be connected to feelings of vitality, excitement, happiness and contentment.

But I think that there is more to feeling 'Scottish' than experiencing happiness and vitality. Indeed, what I will argue in the following section is that emotional experiences of 'Scottishness' also seem to fulfil some more fundamental human need for intimacy, security and wellbeing that is not being provided (or is not provided as effectively) by other agents (*cf.* Ignatieff 1994b). I will now explain and explore this argument in greater detail.

7.3 'Scottishness' and the Experience of Wellbeing

Ideas of social wellbeing first gained prominence in the 1970s. According to Ron Johnston social wellbeing is “the degree to which a population’s needs and wants are met” (2000: 763, see also D.M. Smith 1973). Johnston (2000) suggests that the precise meaning of social wellbeing varies geographically but that it might include factors such as sufficient income to meet basic needs, equality with regards to human rights, reasonable access to services that are required and the opportunity to voice opinions and concerns. Despite this interest in social wellbeing though (and as we argue in Wood and Smith, forthcoming) social scientists know far less about the geographies of inclusion, contours of contentment and experiences of security than they know about exclusion, insecurity and fear. In many ways this is how it should be; those with the greatest need gain the most attention. But a consequence of this is that there seems to be a substantial gap in the literature when it comes to knowing what wellbeing *per se* is. It seems that research might tell us how (at the macro level) social wellbeing can be achieved, but it tells us substantially less about what wellbeing feels like and the affects that it has on people’s senses of self (Pacione 2003 and van Kamp *et al* 2003). It is this aspect of wellbeing that I am interested in.

In chapter six I highlighted a number of instances where people experienced feelings of wellbeing during musical performances. For example, respondents spoke of experiencing “a high” (Tcomm19), feelings of euphoria (Tcomm21), “quiet elation” (Dougie), an experience of escapism (Eilidh), and enriching feelings of communion (Sebastian). The power of musical performances to lift people’s spirits, transport

them into another (positive) sense of being, and elicit feelings of unity with other people is clear to see.

Music has a long and established record as being a 'therapeutic' medium of expression and experience as Horden's (2000) edited collection illustrates. The status of music therapy as a state-registered medical profession in the UK is testament to the fact that music can be used as a medical intervention and a route to wellbeing more generally. There is not enough room in this chapter to adequately explore the heterogeneous nature of music therapy. However, music therapy has been used with patients of all ages, who live with conditions as wide ranging as physical impairments (Alvin 1975, Priestly 1975), learning difficulties (Edgerton 1994, Nordoff and Robbins 1971), psychiatric illnesses (Aldridge 2000, Trondalen 2001), chronic and terminal diseases (Aldridge 1999, Hilliard 2001, Lee 1996), and the psychological effects of trauma (Lang and McInerney 2002, Pavlicevic 1994 and 2002).

It is commonly argued that music is a powerful form of therapy because it is rooted in non-linguistic forms of communication. This is useful for two reasons. Firstly, musical communication is thought to occur in a different area of the brain to linguistic communication (Storr 1997). Therefore it can be useful in the treatment of patients with neurological diseases that affect their speech. For example, in the following quotation Sacks (1981) describes how a woman suffering from advanced Parkinson's Disease would or could not respond to any form of communication except music.

'One minute would see Miss D. compressed, clenched and blocked, or jerking, ticcing and jabbering – like a sort of human bomb; the next, with the sound of music from a wireless or a gramophone, the complete disappearance of all these obstructive-explosive phenomena and their replacement by a blissful ease and flow of movement as Miss D. suddenly freed of her automatisms, smilingly 'conducted' the music, or rose and danced to it.' (Sacks, 1981: 56-7).

So music seems to be able to offer people some form of temporary respite from the relentlessness of chronic illness. In addition, it is valuable as a non-linguistic form of communication for those who either cannot speak (Edgerton 1994, Nordoff and Robbins 1971 and Trondalen 2001) or for whom words cannot adequately express their thoughts and feelings. The following extract from Colin Lee's (1996) narrative about Francis, a musician dying from AIDS, illustrates the ways in which music can be an invaluable form of expression and release during an incredibly painful and distressing time. After listening back to a piece of improvisation that Francis had performed in one of his music therapy sessions with Lee he says:

"It's too much to talk about. What can you say? So much pain. It's a combination of pain and distress and anger and acceptance and refusal to be resigned about it. So much sense of purpose. Determination. So powerful. I don't always know where I get the energy from. I don't feel ill afterwards. I always feel better and that's extraordinary." (Francis in Lee 1996: 70).

As this brief discussion of music therapy suggests music can be a powerful route to some form of therapeutic release, a forceful medium of communication and a valuable source of (individual) wellbeing. However, as will be clear to anyone who listens to music, its beneficial affects are not confined to the clinical setting of a

music therapy session. Indeed, many of the respondents featured in this research – both musicians and audience members – have clearly articulated that musical performances are widely experienced as being beneficial to their sense of self and wellbeing. For example, in chapter six Horse and Mary suggested that performing music fulfils a therapeutic role in their lives; it allows them to engage in a form of emotional work that is rarely present in other areas of their lives. Audience members also felt the benefits of experiencing musical performances. Many audience members demonstrated feelings of exhilaration in being in a timespace where they experienced themselves and others in ways that were perceived to be intimate. Siobhan, for example, talked about her experience of feeling the audience “knocking down their defences” “breaking out and just enjoying themselves”. Indeed, for Siobhan musical performances reminded her of a joy that she does not experience when she is “caught up in the day to day run of stuff”.

As all of this suggests, musical performances can engage people with their sense of wellbeing (albeit, perhaps, temporary). What I argue is that the capacity of music to promote feelings of intimacy, joy, release and relief can be harnessed for various cultural and political ends. In particular – and in the context of this work – I argue that (Scottish) national identities can gain their emotional power through harnessing the capacity of music to allow people to feel secure, contented and connected to a stable and well established social group. So far in this chapter I have outlined some of the ways in which people felt ‘Scottish’ when sharing the experience of a musical performance with other Scots. However, as the following quotations illustrate hearing and engaging with music that is understood to be ‘Scottish’ can also promote

feelings of wellbeing for three reasons. Firstly, listening to 'Scottish' music can evoke feelings of home and belonging. Sarah, who had lived abroad for a while articulates this feeling quite nicely in the following quotation.

NW "...just going back... you were saying that some of the [Scottish] music you found emotive and, and patriotic. What kind of feelings does that stir in you? [...]"

R "[...] Dunno (laughs). I guess, if like I'm abroad and I hear it it's like, makes you sort of homesick, makes you sort of... I dunno, makes you miss the good things about your country more, the sort of nice days when it's sunny and you're in the hills, that's what... and I guess that's what makes me emotive about Scotland. I feel that when I go into the Highlands it's like "this is my land" sort of thing (laughs). It's where I'm from and you just relate to it more. I dunno always in your mind you have this picture of it, like on a lovely sunny, warm day, you know, in the summer, and it's really nice to be Scottish." (Sarah).

Here, Sarah suggests that hearing 'Scottish' music can make her feel homesick if she is abroad. It makes her miss the 'good things' about Scotland, which for her are the warm, sunny days that she spends in the Highlands; an area that she feels at home in and which she feels connected to, a landscape where she feels happy and contented¹²⁸.

Secondly, listening to music that is understood to be 'Scottish' can promote feelings of wellbeing through giving people pride and confidence in their cultural heritage. Celtic Connections established an education programme that sought to promote 'Scottish' traditional and folk music amongst a range of social groups living in the Glasgow area and to encourage a wider social mix of people to visit and use the

¹²⁸ This sense of wellbeing is probably exacerbated by the fact that Sarah is a keen rock climber, so the Highlands will have a special significance for her as a landscape where she can participate in a leisure pursuit that she finds enjoyable.

GRCH¹²⁹. Many of the schools and community groups that the Education Officer that I interviewed worked with were located in more socially deprived areas of Glasgow and were considered by her to be socially excluded in some way. As she stated in an interview that I conducted with her: -

“...most of my constituency are people who are not so well off money wise, who maybe have not had all the education that they were entitled to or should have had, many of them are older, elderly or disabled in some way, although that's a word I hate, or they are people who need a little hitch up to feel that they are equal to others.” (Education Officer, Celtic Connections).

The Education Officer and her co-workers used 'Scottish' 'traditional' and folk music as a way of trying to integrate marginalised groups into 'Scottish' society by encouraging them to discover and engage with a musical heritage that belonged to them. As the following quotation illustrates the Education Officer used 'Scottish' music in order to instil a sense of pride and worth in the groups that she worked with.

“...my business is to make people feel good about what they can do, and then to be able to do a bit more, and when you've got something as sound as the Scottish tradition to do it with what... a song and an instrumental tradition that can stand beside anything in the world my own assurance [in the quality of 'Scottish' music] will help to mirror theirs or to lift theirs up a bit or just to let them see yes, that woman's right and it has so many intrinsic benefits for them, just in their picture of themselves as part of society...” (Education Officer, Celtic Connections).

¹²⁹ Initiatives such as this come from a more general recognition that access to the arts is not equally distributed across society. As Rose (1997b) argues access to the arts is not just a consequence of the uneven spatial distribution of arts facilities, ticket costs or building design. It is also caused by a number of powerful assumptions about who can appreciate and practice the arts. In an attempt to break down such barriers to the arts the Celtic Connections education programme promoted a number of initiatives including free tickets for community and schools concerts that were held in the GRCH

What is significant here is that people do not only feel good because they are participating in music *per se*. Rather, the Education Officer suggests that what is equally important is that the participants in her workshops come to know and make connections with a 'world class' 'Scottish' 'tradition' of music making. Performing therefore not only gives the participants confidence and satisfaction in being able to appreciate and create pleasurable sound, but it also links them to, and positions them within 'Scottish' society. So musicking in this context is not just about participants feeling good about themselves, it is also about them feeling good about themselves as members of a Scottish nation with an established and prestigious cultural 'tradition'.

In a similar vein, the third way in which engaging with 'Scottish' music can promote feelings of wellbeing is through the capacity of music to give people some sense of security, stability and roots in a world that is perceived to be rapidly globalising. In an interview that I conducted with Dougie he suggested that the recent increase in interest in 'Scottish' music was linked to a wider resurgence of national musics which, in turn, was a response to the 'dislocating' effects of the contemporary social, cultural and economic processes. He said: -

"...if you examine er Lithuania, Estonia, er these er former satellite countries around the big nations, who've never had a look in until now, I think that they're all beginning to discover that they have their own traditional native music and begin to prize it and hold onto its worth when we are being er... ever more er urged to er take er you know take on board all the modern technologies and speed up our lives. And whilst

and a programme of music workshops that were held in schools and community centres across Glasgow (information from the Celtic Connections Souvenir Brochure 2000).

we are going out into the new world, the brave new world of the internet and all this there is still a hankering for people to still want something to hold onto. Where did we come from? What were our roots? What were our traditions and that's part of it I think and you get this strange dichotomy within the human being of wanting er mod... modernity and glass and chrome and fine new buildings and all the rest of it and there is somewhere in the background, they'd like to know what it was we came from..." (Dougie).

Dougie describes the "strange dichotomy" where people simultaneously want to engage with new 'globalising' technologies - 'new' ways of communicating, working and living - and yet people want to have some kind of roots so that they know where they came from and what their cultural heritage is. This phenomenon is well documented in Bauman (2001) and Hobsbawm (1996). Indeed, as Hobsbawm explains "men and women look for groups to belong, certainly and forever, in a world in which all else is shifting, in which nothing else is certain" (1996: 40). I think that this apparent desire for stability and familiarity partially explains why people's understandings of 'Scottish' music revolve around ideas of 'authenticity' and 'tradition'. Indeed, if 'Scottish' music is valued as a source of stability in a social and cultural world that is relatively unstable, then comments by people like Angus, who had quite fixed ideas about the extent to which 'Scottish' music could develop without losing its 'Scottishness' takes on a new relevance.

It seems to me that in all three of these ways in which appreciating and playing 'Scottish' music triggers feelings of wellbeing, the idea of belonging to a nation and having a national identity seems to provide feelings of security, familiarity and stability, which are sometimes lacking in people's lives. In Sarah's case 'Scottish' music allowed Sarah to derive some sense of wellbeing from remembering a familiar

landscape that she felt some connection to whilst she was abroad. In the case of the Education Officer from Celtic Connections music was used to encourage feelings of pride and worth amongst groups who had been marginalised from society in various ways. Lastly, in Dougie's case, he suggests that 'Scottish' music provides a route to feelings of stability and continuity that are sometimes missing out of contemporary societies that are caught up with rapid and dynamic developments in ways of doing and being.

It seems then that events like musical performances can be instrumental in reifying the legitimacy and persistence of nation and nationalism for two reasons. People can experience quite strong feelings of intimacy, communion, contentment and vitality at these events. As I have illustrated throughout this thesis people do not always understand why or how these feelings occur. Indeed, as Horse explained on page 254 performing music is precisely about making contact with and touching people through music. Audience members feel (and forge connections themselves through) the emotional power of the music even though they might not understand what the music is articulating. I argue that this conceptual uncertainty aids the persistence and power of ideas of nation and nationalism because in some cases people seem to connect their emotional experiences of other people in musical performances to ideas of nationhood. In other words, they imagine that the reasons why they are experiencing feelings of intimacy, communion, contentment and vitality is because of the perceived existence of primordial attachments between musicians and audience members, which themselves are assumed to be the product of shared national identity. Anderson (1993) Billig (1995), Connor (1993) and Weber (1976)

highlight the ways in which ideas of nation and nationalism are (re)produced through everyday social and cultural practices. Therefore, in many ways it seems reasonable that in some contexts people draw upon ideas of nation and nationalism to make sense of their (emotional) experiences of others. So, whilst national elites might set the initial conditions for the (re)production of nations (as I explained in chapter two), members of those nations reify these ideas through their (imagined) experience of them. This is not to say that their experiences of nationhood are imagined *per se*, rather the ways in which people connect ideas of nationhood to their perceived experiences of these concepts are imagined.

But it is not simply that people understand their emotional experience of others at musical performances in reference to ideas of nationhood. Indeed, what seems to be crucial is that fact that people connect the feelings of actual and potential *wellbeing* that they experience at musical performances to ideas of nation and nationalism. This is a second interrelated way in which musical performances can be instrumental in the persistence and legitimacy of concepts of nation. As I highlighted earlier a number of people experience feelings of contentment, happiness, vivacity, security and belonging in 'Scottish' musical performances. So feeling 'Scottish' becomes synonymous in some contexts to feeling good about yourself, your place in the world and others to whom you have a perceived national connection. It is partly for this reason why I think that people are attracted to engaging with ideas of 'Scottishness' and the adoption (and adaption) of 'Scottish' national identities. As Woodward (1997) suggests people personally invest in those identities that are most useful for their sense of self. Therefore, if ideas of nation are perceived to be most (or

especially) useful in providing a sense of wellbeing, security and stability, then national identities will gain considerable emotional power. What is more the category of nation is reified through such processes of identity formation as a means of securing individual wellbeing. Indeed, as Ignatieff (1994a) suggests the category of nation has come to be perceived as the primary source of wellbeing¹³⁰. This is because nationalists have commonly argued that without the security and protection of the nation all other sources of wellbeing, such as that found through familial and more local relations, are insecure.

So it seems then that ideas of 'Scottishness' have become inextricably linked to notions of wellbeing but, as a number of respondents highlighted, there is a problem with this concept for two reasons. Firstly, this is because whilst ideas of 'Scottishness' can promote feelings of wellbeing amongst Scots the very category of nation is exclusionary (*cf.* Connor 2001 and Penrose 1993). This is problematic because non-Scots may feel excluded from the social relations that are forged through 'Scottish' musical performances. But it is also problematic because, as the quotation below illustrates, some Scots that I interviewed imagined that only Scots can experience the kinds of feelings that they themselves feel at 'Scottish' musical performances. In other words, they inextricably link their national identity to their experience of the performance in such a way that they cannot imagine that 'foreign' people might be sharing similar emotional feelings albeit for different reasons.

¹³⁰ Ignatieff (1994a) does not actually refer to wellbeing *per se*, rather he confines his argument to notions of belonging which, as I have argued earlier is one route to feelings of wellbeing.

The following quotation comes from an interview that I carried out at T in the Park just before Travis played their set. I had asked the respondents whether they thought that there was anything 'Scottish' about T in the Park and this was part of their response.

R1 "It's quite cool, we get quite nationalistic about it, I mean a lot of people want to come and see Travis tonight..."

R2 "Yeah, it's gonna be massive."

R1 "...and it's gonna be absolutely huge and I mean the main reason being that most people are Scottish and they wanna come down and see a Scottish band playing."

R2 "Yeah, they'll try and make it. You get a very nationalistic feeling, sort of walking about, you know a lot of people with Scottish flags and what not, you know Saltires and it's quite... it's quite nationalistic."

NW "Yeah, yeah... Do you think that's a good thing, a positive thing about it?"

R2 "Yeah."

R1 "I think it's a positive thing for us because we're Scottish."

R2 "Yeah, 'cos we're Scottish (laughs). [...] And everyone will be able to feel it when they come."

R1 "Yeah I mean to a certain extent it's probably quite intimidating for sort of other people to come." (Tcomm29).

In this quotation the respondents anticipate that Travis' performance is going to provoke nationalistic feelings amongst the (Scottish) audience. There is an expectation that the audience will be mainly 'Scottish' and that they will want to see (and support) a 'Scottish' band. For the respondents such nationalistic feelings are regarded as being positive because they themselves are 'Scottish'. But they suggest that non-Scots who will experience these nationalistic, 'Scottish' feelings, might feel intimidated at the event. In this quotation the respondents are reifying the notion that 'Scottishness' is an exclusionary concept. For them, there is no notion that non-

Scots could be caught up in (positive) feelings of 'Scottishness'. 'Scottishness' is constructed as that which can only be truly experienced by Scots.

A number of respondents that I spoke to were wary about discussing feelings of 'Scottishness' precisely because they did not want to associate their 'positive' feelings of 'Scottishness' with exclusionary perceptions of belonging to a national community. In particular, a number of Scottish respondents acknowledged how feelings of 'Scottishness' could be appropriated for more sinister (and violent) ends. This is the second problem with linking wellbeing to notions of 'Scottishness' and is illustrated quite nicely in the quotation below from Sarah. Sarah was quoted earlier in this section when she described how 'Scottish' music elicited feelings of home and belonging when she abroad. However, she acknowledged how the capacity of music to incite feelings of 'Scottishness' might be misused. She said: -

R "...it sort of makes me uneasy that... you start using it as sort of, you know, 'battle' music (*laughs*) 'cos it's not. It's just really nice music and OK if it makes you feel... not patriotic, 'cos that sort of brings on ideas of war and bombs and things really, it makes you feel sort of good about your country [...]. If you're in another country it makes you sort of homesick and think about the good things of where you're from and that's good. But I don't think it should be promoted as some sort of um... battle tool, 'cos then it takes away a lot of it, in a way, and for me it's not that." (Sarah).

Similarly, the Education Officer at Celtic Connections argues that the more dangerous and aggressive ways in which people express their national identity could be separated from the more positive aspects of identifying yourself with a particular

national identity. Indeed, she even suggests in the following quotation that aggressive assertions of 'Scottishness' are immature expressions of national identity.

“...this notion of, of pride in being Scottish (*theatre's intercom interrupts*) we do know that there is the ugly face of, you know the sports followers, the footballers, the footballers and things er who are Scottish and it's an abrasive thing that they are exhibiting. There's a far more mature picture than that, even amongst young children, erm again this assurance that this is their place, this is their country and they love to hear the music and the songs that belong to them.” (Education Officer, Celtic Connections).

For me, this separation of 'good' and 'bad' nationalisms is dangerous because it denies the possibility that it is because of the power of national identity as a perceived route to wellbeing that some people are willing to be violent in order to protect it. Indeed, it seems entirely plausible that it is because of the power of feelings of belonging, security and so forth that the nation appears to provide and the perception that these aspects of wellbeing are somehow essential to human life that people are willing to fight and die for nations (*cf.* Anderson 1991, Balakrishnan 1996, Connor 2001, Ignatieff 1994a, and Mann 2001,). One respondent was acutely aware of this relationship between good and bad nationalisms. Eilidh clearly articulated her fears that although she thought of herself as someone who was acutely aware of the dangers of nationalism, she realised that she had the potential to be mobilised by a political leader who appealed to her sense of 'Scottishness' in particularly divisive and emotive ways. The following quotation comes from an extract where Eilidh was talking about the potential dangers of Scottish nationalism if a right wing nationalist gained control of the Scottish Parliament. She said: -

“Oh God, I still think that if Scotland put someone in, a really right wing predominantly nationalistic person they could mobilise... God, God, could you imagine it, you know, if that happened to me? You know like a Hitler type character that mobilised that feeling amongst a lot of the Scottish people that lived here. Oh God, I hope that wouldn't happen to me because I suppose it is still in me to feel Scottish, but I just wouldn't want it to be brought out in that horrendously right wing way. But I still think that something could be mobilised in Scotland if you got a really charismatic [...] a leader that was able to mobilise whatever in people. I think that'd be scary.” (Eilidh).

For me, Eilidh's comments get to the heart of the emotional power of nationalism and attachments to a particular national identity. As Eilidh suggests once people have invested in a national identity then the potential is always there for actors to mobilise people on the basis of their national identity for their own political ends (see Connor 1993). It seems to me that ideas of nation and nationalism are therefore inherently dangerous precisely because they link feelings of belonging, security and stability, which are highly desirable phenomena to a political ideology. What is more, as Ignatieff (1994a) suggests nationalists have often used the claim that without the security of a nation-state then all other sources of wellbeing – such as the family or village – will be under threat.

However, by showing that the link between wellbeing and nation is not 'given' but made and performed, my work demonstrates that there is no inextricable connection between wellbeing and nationhood *per se*. People may draw on ideas of nationhood to engage emotionally with musical performances that have been 'set up' or 'staged' as 'Scottish', but the feelings of communion and exhilaration which they refer to are more fundamentally about sharing an experience with a group of close friends or a group of music lovers. Similarly where people seemingly gained a sense of pride

and worth from appreciating and performing 'Scottish' music or experienced feelings of belonging and home these feelings are accounted for with reference to other agents such as families or local communities. It seems to me that in the context of my research ideas of connecting to an (imagined) well-established and stable national community provide feelings of security and wellbeing in instances where links to more immediate communities are uncertain or under threat. For example, the groups that were involved in the Celtic Connections' education programme were considered to be marginalised within Glaswegian society, so they derived a sense of pride and worth by culturally connecting to an (imagined) 'Scottish' community. I suggest that if these groups were valued more highly by their local communities, then the emotional power of connecting to ideas of 'Scottishness' might be diminished.

All this points to the notion that when the 'black box' of emotional ties to nation, nationalism and national identity is explored a complex set of experiences are found whose connections to nation is incidental rather than essential. Emotional bonds can be 'performed' politically as 'Scottish' but they could equally be performed with reference to some other basis such as membership of a caring community. Of course this point about alternative explanations for those feelings that are currently understood to be 'Scottishness' and alternative sources of wellbeing raises a number of empirical questions about the role of ideas of nation and nationalism in contemporary 'Scottish' society. Whilst there can be little doubt that the political tenacity of ideas of nation and nationalism rests on the emotional power that is embedded within these concepts it seems that there is a conceptual gap in people's understandings of emotional experiences of 'Scottishness' that would allow for

alternative (and perhaps more politically attractive) explanations to challenge the hegemony of ideas of nation and nationalism in people's experiences of musical performances (*cf.* Rajchman 1999). In addition, if ideas of wellbeing are central to the emotional power of ideas of nationhood, then if these two phenomena could, somehow, be decoupled (and wellbeing was provided through other means) then the need, attractiveness and power of ideas of nation and nationalism could be diminished to some extent.

At present, given the power of ideas of nation and nationalism at both the national and international level (see Guibernau 2001) it is hard to imagine how the power of ideas of nation and nationalism could be lessened. But my research shows that there is at least the possibility of this occurring. If the connection between the emotional power of feelings of wellbeing and 'Scottishness' is inspired, in part, by the staging of musical performances (or the festivals in which they are performed) then we have an insight into one mechanism that can be used for unsettling this connection in the future. In addition, if we know how this connection between wellbeing and national identity works – in other words if know that the two are not essentially linked – then we have ammunition for challenging those who continue to promote this link by staging musical performances in certain ways. Moreover there is an option for 'setting-up' or staging performances in ways that challenge and further destabilise the taken-for-granted links between the emotional power of wellbeing and ideas of nation, nationalism and national identity. Live Aid (1985), Nelson Mandela's 46664

AIDS benefit concert (2003) and the NetAid concerts¹³¹ (1999) are illustrative of the kinds of creative potential that might actively provide alternative, more unifying hooks on which to hang the feelings of emotional wellbeing that musical performances inspire.

¹³¹ On October 9 1999 three high profile music concerts were held in Geneva, London and New York and were broadcast live on the satellite music channel VH-1 and on the official NetAid website. The concerts were designed to raise awareness of the Jubilee 2000 campaign and the need to address global poverty (United Nations 1999).

Chapter Eight

Conclusion

This thesis addresses an important gap in existing studies of nation and nationalism. Whilst many scholars acknowledge the role of emotions in the tenacity of nation, nationalism and national identity, little attention has been paid to questions of *how* and *why* these ideas gain their emotional power. In seeking to engage more meaningfully with the emotional ‘black box’ of nations and nationalism this thesis explores the ways in which Scottish national identities are lived and redefined through musical performances. In particular, it studies emotional experiences of national identities and begins to unpack the nature of the emotional ties that bind Scots to ideas of ‘Scottishness’.

This research involves an active engagement with those recent theories of nation and nationalism that seek to blur the ‘traditional’ boundaries between ideas of ‘primordialism’ and ‘modernist’ and ‘instrumentalist’ explanations of nation (*cf.* Billig 1995, Calhoun 1997, Connor 1993 and Penrose 1995 and 2002). In particular, it builds on the established criticism (outlined in chapter two) that modernist explanations provide accounts of ideas of nation and nationalism that are too rational and dispassionate (Calhoun 1997, Connor 1993 and A.D. Smith 2003, 1998 and 1986). More specifically the thesis develops a research methodology that facilitates access to people’s emotional experiences of nation and nationalism. This is a

challenge that, so far, has not been taken up by many social scientists. One way that the present work meets this challenge is by thinking about the ways in which 'Scottishness' is experienced in the timespaces of musical performances. As argued above these are useful events to study for two main reasons. First, they constitute timespaces where the emotional dimensions of everyday life are often heightened (*cf.* Wood and Smith forthcoming). Thus, as I argued in chapter three thinking with and through music allows for a relatively accessible engagement with emotional geographies. Second, they allow for an active engagement with identities in the making (*cf.* Bondi 1993, Grosz 1999a, Hall 1996 and Rose 1993). Musical performances are inherently creative events, therefore 'Scottishness' is not simply reproduced through musical performances rather it is negotiated through practices of musiking (Small 1998). It is because of the creative nature of musical performances that I experimented with non-representational styles of research in order to try and capture 'Scottishness' in the making. As Thrift (1996) argues, non-representational thinking is based on an active engagement with process and practice. It questions those theories that claim to re-present some 'naturally present' reality and, instead, calls for a more sustained engagement with 'thought-in-action'. Here, 'momentary events' (such as musical performances) are explored in order to understand the relations of power that allow certain (re)presentations of past experiences and understandings to be articulated in the creation of the present.

This research aimed to document some of the ways in which people experience 'Scottishness' in order to specify and critique the emotional attachments that people have to nations and nationalism? I will conclude this thesis by firstly summarising

the main findings that have come light during this research. Section 8.2 will then outline the ways in which my research enriches understandings of nations, nationalism and the identities that they support and finally, in section 8.3, I explore some of the ways in which strands of thought that appear in this current work might be developed in future research projects.

8.1 Summary of Research Findings

In the broadest sense my research demonstrates how the political tenacity of nations and nationalism is rooted in emotional geographies. More specifically, my work explains how the emotional power of nations and nationalism (and in particular ideas of ‘Scottishness’) is gained by eliciting feelings that are usually associated with experiences of wellbeing in the widest sense of the term; feelings of pride, communion, stability and belonging (see chapter seven). I argue that these feelings are derived in two ways.

First, feelings of wellbeing are gained from the identification and experience of symbolic expressions of ‘Scottishness’. As I explained in chapter five the recognition and understanding of certain languages and accents, instruments, and melodic and rhythmic idioms as being ‘Scottish’ signals that Scotland is perceived to be a culturally distinctive nation. However, what is perhaps more significant about these symbolic expressions of ‘Scottishness’ are the ways in which they gain their emotional power. My research suggests that ideas of ‘authenticity’ and ‘tradition’ are used to frame what is and is not considered to be ‘Scottish’. In some cases the

distinctions between 'authentic' and 'inauthentic' 'Scottishness' were based on a desire for expressions of 'Scottishness' that were understood to be politically positive and 'useful'. As all this suggests 'Scottishness' is not simply located in symbolic expressions *per se*. Rather, 'Scottishness' is found in those symbolic expressions of 'Scottishness' that are understood to have links to 'authentic' and/or 'traditional' ideas of 'Scottishness'. What is crucial in this regard is the practice of performance.

My research shows that understandings of 'authentic' and/or 'traditional' 'Scottish' music does not simply rely on the recognition of symbolic expressions of 'Scottishness'. In addition, it relies on the recognition of 'authentic' and 'traditional' *performance practices*. This is not to say that musical performances cannot be creative and play with 'Scottishness' to produce 'new' and 'different' understandings of the phenomenon. Indeed, as some of the responses by interviewees demonstrate 'Scottishness' is an inherently dynamic concept. However, what is important in the recognition of 'Scottishness' is the speed at which 'Scottishness' evolves. Some respondents suggested that there always needs to be some kind of performative link that connects contemporary performances of 'Scottishness' with past articulations. Indeed, it was suggested that part of the reason why 'Scottish' musical performances acquired such emotional power was that they were understood to be sources of familiarity, security and stability.

However, as the second way in which feelings of wellbeing are derived through musical performances illustrates there is not an essential link between ideas of nationhood and the experience of wellbeing. Indeed, as chapter six illustrated

feelings of contentment, happiness and belonging are inspired by emotional experiences of musical performances *per se*. Here I refer to the ways in which, in some contexts, performers are able to create musical timespaces where the emotional content of social relations is heightened. When these circumstances arise (in what I refer to as the ‘moment’ of musical performances) then people appear to experience social relations with musicians and other audience members intimately.

Indeed, my research suggests that the emotional power of musical performances comes from the ways in which musicking facilitates feelings of communion and closeness amongst those individuals that are sharing the experience of musical performances (see chapter seven). More interesting still, it seems that even though audience members feel the emotional power of musical performances, they often cannot explain why they experience the feelings that they do. When this happens audience members have a tendency to draw on their understandings of nationhood to frame their emotional experiences. Crucially, this is most likely to occur when the events in question have been ‘set up’ or ‘staged’ as ‘Scottish’ in some way. Factors which encourage direct connections between emotion and national identity include the recognition of Scottish musicians and audience members and the presence of symbolic representations of ‘Scottishness’ such as Saltires. As this suggests, my work strongly supports the argument that the emotional power of musical performance is harnessed by ideas of nation and nationalism. Through these processes, peoples’ experiences of musical performances are framed in terms of their emotional experience of ‘Scottishness’ rather than attributing these experiences to some quality of musical performance *per se*. This is a significant finding because

music reveals something about the capacity of music to make bonds of intimacy, but in revealing this quality of music my work also illustrates that there is no inherent link between intimacy and ‘Scottishness’ *per se*. Therefore my findings unsettle the often taken-for-granted connections that are assumed to exist between feelings of intimacy, experiences of wellbeing and ideas of nationhood. This being the case it is possible to imagine alternative explanations for the feelings of wellbeing and intimacy that some musical performances elicit. This idea will be elaborated on in the next section which summarises the ways in which my research enriches those recent works that seek to reconceptualise ‘traditional’ theories of nation and nationalism.

8.2 Reconceptualising Theories of Nation and Nationalism

My research illustrates that the ‘traditional’ division between ‘primordialist’, ‘modernist’ and ‘instrumentalist’ explanations of nation is not useful in gaining a better understanding of how ideas of nation and nationalism gain their emotional power (*cf.* Calhoun 1997, Connor 1993 and Penrose 1995 and 2002). In focusing on experiences of nation and nationalism it becomes apparent that ideas of primordialism play a far greater role than ‘modernist’ and ‘instrumentalist’ explanations of nation and nationalism account for. Indeed, my research seems to support Connor’s (1993) thesis that: -

“The essence of the nation is a psychological bond that joins a people and differentiates it, in the subconscious conviction of its members, from all nonmembers in a most vital way” (1993: 197).

Connor argues that this psychological bond is emotional and subconscious in nature and that whilst it can be analysed it cannot be explained rationally (1993: 204). My research supports Connor's (1993) contention that the national bond is what he would term *non-rational* in character. However, I would argue that a meaningful engagement with the emotional 'black box' of nation and nationalism begins to demystify the emotional power of these phenomena. Indeed, as I argued earlier in this chapter (and also in chapter seven), an engagement with emotions reveals that part of the attraction of nations and nationalism are the feelings of wellbeing that they are perceived to promote. My research suggests that there are two ways in which this link between wellbeing and nation and nationalism could, potentially, be decoupled. Firstly, if social wellbeing was provided more effectively through other channels then there is the possibility that the need for nations and nationalism to provide feelings of pride, worth, stability and security could be diminished.

Secondly, my work illustrates that there is an important distinction between the feelings of wellbeing which are often inspired by/associated with musical performances and the tendency to attribute these feelings to membership of a nation. I argue that musical performances promote or facilitate feelings of wellbeing but it is the ways in which musical performances are 'set up' or 'staged' that promotes linkages between these feelings and national identity. In the context of the musical performances that I studied many of them were 'staged' (in often subtle and complex ways) as 'Scottish' events. Here factors including the ways in which the festivals were promoted, the music that was sometimes performed, the ways in which

'Scottishness' was drawn on to create a link between audience members and performers, and the marking of performance spaces with symbolic representations of 'Scottishness' all contributed to the 'staging' of Celtic Connections and T in the Park as 'Scottish' events. If it is the 'staging' of musical performances that creates the connection between feelings of wellbeing and national identity then it seems to me that there is the potential to imagine alternative stagings of musical performances that provide a different (and more politically attractive) hook for those feelings that are commonly attributed to experiences of 'Scottishness'. These alternative explanations could be based on less exclusionary criteria than concepts of nation such as membership of a caring community. In doing this, the emotional power that is currently harnessed by ideas of nation and nationalism could, potentially, be put to more inclusive and less divisive ends.

All of this is not to deny the power or tenacity of ideas of nation and nationalism. However, my work does expose the possibility of a different way of proceeding as the tenacity of nations and nationalism cannot be explained away by the inevitability of emotional ties to these concepts. In addition, by examining the processes through which national identities are (re)produced my work also suggests a route through which the emotional power of nations and nationalism could be diminished. As Mead (1934 and 1936) argues selves are produced in relation to the attitudes and beliefs of the prevailing society. Similarly, Woodward (1997) suggests that people adopt those identities that are perceived to be most useful in maintaining and understanding the self. If, somehow, alternative structures that enabled greater social wellbeing could be placed into society then, over time, these phenomena could

potentially become embedded in the attitudes and beliefs of the selves of future generations. In turn, national identities could, potentially, play a lesser role in making sense of selves. It is a bold and radical idea and questions exist as to whether there is any other structure (or combination of structures) that could fill the emotional role that national identity currently plays in everyday life. Yet, as greater understandings of how ideas of nation and nationalism gain their emotional power are achieved then the more ammunition is available to potentially challenge the tenacity and power of these phenomena.

8.3 Future Research

This thesis has begun to unpack people's understandings of 'Scottishness' and the emotional 'black box' of nations and nationalism. However, further research needs to be carried out in order to gain a greater understanding of the emotional geographies of both 'Scottishness', and nations and nationalism more generally. Although the research presented in this thesis provides some idea of how people experience national identities such as 'Scottishness', my research highlights at least three interrelated areas that could be explored in greater depth in the future.

Firstly, my research demonstrates that 'Scottishness' is heterogeneous in character; there is a fluidity in the ways in which people understand and recognise 'Scottishness'. However, it would be useful to focus more directly on the heterogeneity of 'Scottishness' in order to understand more fully its complex and diverse nature. In particular, it would be valuable to know how understandings and

experiences of 'Scottishness' vary over (and within) different social categories such as 'race', gender and age. Such knowledge could be acquired through supplementing the present study with research carried out at a wider range of musical performances located in numerous areas of Scotland. For example, studies of different genres of music such as 'Scottish' Asian music, jazz and blues and investigations of different kinds of performances (in pubs, folk clubs and domestic settings) in a greater range of Scottish locations could potentially allow for the expression of 'different' and possibly competing/contradictory notions of 'Scottishness' to be explored.

Studying the heterogeneous nature of 'Scottishness' would not only broaden our understanding of what people understand and recognise to be 'Scottish', but it could also allow for a deeper understanding of the relationship between wellbeing and the experience of national identities. This is the second strand of research which would benefit from further study. As this thesis argues, the link between wellbeing and the experience of national identity resides in the non-rational realm of human thought and action. Therefore, it is inappropriate to try and find concrete (rational or logical) links between feelings of wellbeing and experiences of nationhood. However, what could be usefully studied in greater depth are the reasons why people associate feelings of wellbeing with emotional experiences of nation and nationalism. Why, and under what circumstances, are the concepts of nation and nationalism understood to be routes to wellbeing? What 'needs' or desires do nations and nationalism fulfil?

Whilst this thesis begins to address these questions greater understanding is needed about the linkages between wellbeing and nations and nationalism. Part of the

problem of trying to study this kind of phenomenon though is the difficulty of accessing emotional experiences. Whilst the methods used in this present piece of research allow me considerable access to the emotional realm through and with which experiences of nation and nationalism are realised, I feel that there may be 'better' and/or more fulfilling ways of studying this phenomenon. What, precisely, these alternative approaches might be requires further thought and experimentation, but I think that they may involve a greater understanding of the relationship between emotion and affect. In other words, alternative methodological approaches may require a more nuanced engagement with the 'doings' of what we understand to be emotions and our understanding (and labelling/categorisation) of those 'doings'. This is a third strand of research that requires greater study.

One of the greatest challenges of this research has been to try and gain some way of understanding (and conveying) the emotional experiences that my respondents encountered in musical performances. However, there is an inherent contradiction in my research in that I argue that music allows for expressions of emotion that cannot be articulated through words, and yet I ultimately produce a piece of work that reduces emotional experiences of musical performances to a series of prose. This contradiction is, in part, a product of the strictures of producing a piece of 'academic' work that can be examined, but it also reflects (I think) something far deeper about the differential properties of non-representational and representational forms of communication. Non-representational forms of communication (such as music) allow for greater expressive freedom but, for me at least, they are less useful for conveying ideas or concepts in what are seemingly 'clear' and 'easily

understandable' ways. Here representational forms of communication seem to be more effective. However, words, as I discovered when writing my participant sensing notes, are often inadequate for describing the experiences and feelings that are elicited through musical performances. The challenge for geographers and social scientists more generally then seems to be through which expressive media should we (and can we) 'do' emotional geographies? How do we work with practices, doings and affects in ways that allow them to be known and understood and then conveyed 'clearly' and 'effectively' to a wider audience?

One route which, in the context of my work, seems to potentially offer a way of addressing this challenge is through an engagement with practices of music therapy. As music therapists such as Lee (1996) and Trondalen (2001) illustrate their therapeutic work is precisely located at the intersection of non-representational forms of communication and the spoken and written word. Therapeutic practices of music making are often supplemented or enriched with narratives and conversations between therapists and their clients. Perhaps then an engagement with the practice of music therapy and the skills of music therapists might offer a route to better understanding how we can know emotional geographies (and what to do with this 'knowing' once we have it). If a more productive engagement between non-representational and representational forms of communication could be found then geographers and social scientists would be all the better equipped (I think) to effectively study the emotional geographies of nation and nationalism.

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Appendix One

Performances Attended During Fieldwork

Celtic Connections:

Date	Artist/Band	Venue	Venue Description
11/01/00 7:30pm	Anúna with the Savourna Stevenson Quintet	Main Auditorium (GRCH)	Formal 'concert style' venue. Capacity 2000.
13/01/00 7:30pm	Gaelic Women	Main Auditorium (GRCH)	Formal 'concert style' venue. Capacity 2000.
14/01/00 7:30pm	Dougie MacLean with the BT Ensemble	Main Auditorium (GRCH)	Formal 'concert style' venue. Capacity 2000.
14/01/00 10:00pm	Silencers with Rattler's Bite	The Old Fruitmarket	Former market building. Capacity approx. 1000.
17/01/00 8:00pm	Simon Thoumire	St. Aloysius	Catholic church with temporary staging in front of the altar. Capacity approx. 200.
18/01/00 2:00pm	Live Broadcast for BBC Radio Scotland featuring The Alison Brown Quartet, Anne Martin and Barachois	Foyer (GRCH)	Temporary room located in foyer. Capacity approx 250.
20/01/00 8:00pm	Alasdair Fraser and Paul Machlis	The Tron	Small theatre in a former 16 th century church. Capacity approx. 400.
23/01/00 1:00pm	Colin Reid	Strathclyde Suite (GRCH)	Multifunctional space. Capacity approx. 800
24/01/00 7:30pm	Horse McDonald and the Scottish Chamber Orchestra with Tequila Mockingbird	Main Auditorium (GRCH)	Formal 'concert style' venue. Capacity 2000.
27/01/00 8:00pm	The Cast with Tradition Bearer: Ellen Mitchell	The Piping Centre	Small concert hall in a former 19 th century church. Capacity 200.
29/01/00 7:30pm	The Poozie Party featuring Mary MacMaster, Patsy Seddon, Karen Tweed, Sally Barker, Kate Rusby and Eilidh Shaw	Main Auditorium (GRCH)	Formal 'concert style' venue. Capacity 2000.
	'Cirrus' ¹		

¹ Other details are omitted to protect the anonymity of the band (who is discussed by respondents in this thesis) and one band member who wished to remain anonymous.

T in the Park:

Date	Artist/Band	Venue	Venue Description
08/07/00 15:30	All Saints	Main Stage	Largest stage. Outdoor, unbounded audience arena with a video screen situated about 300 metres from the stage so people at the rear of the performance space can 'see' the performance. Largest audience size approximately 15 000.
08/07/00 17:00	The Picts	Ceilidh Tent	Marquee. Approximate capacity 1000.
08/07/00 17:30	The Bluetones	Main Stage	(See above.)
08/07/00 18:30	Gomez	Main Stage	(See above.)
08/07/00 18:50	Morcheeba	Stage 2	Large marquee. Approximate capacity 2000.
08/07/00 20:10	Beth Orton	Stage 2	(See above.)
08/07/00 21:40	Moby	Main Stage	(See above.)
09/07/00 15:45	Idlewild	Main Stage	(See above.)
09/07/00 17:00	Iggy Pop	Main Stage	(See above.)
09/07/00 18:30	Supergrass	Main Stage	(See above.)
09/07/00 19:40	Gary Blair Band	Ceilidh Tent	(See above.)
09/07/00 20:00	Macy Gray	Main Stage	(See above.)
09/07/00 21:35	Travis	Main Stage	(See above.)

Appendix Two

Letter Given to 'On-The-Spot' Interviewees



DEPARTMENT of GEOGRAPHY

The University of Edinburgh
Drummond Street
Edinburgh EH8 9XP

Fax 0131 650 2524
Email office@geo.ed.ac.uk
Telephone 0131 650 2565
or direct dial 0131 650

Thank you for your comments on the T in the Park. As I briefly explained, I am currently carrying out research that involves a study of audience reactions to live performances of Scottish music. Your comments have been of great use, and I am extremely interested in talking to you further about your experience at T in the Park. This would allow me to gain a greater insight into the event that you have just attended, which would be really useful for my research.

If you would be willing to meet with me sometime over the next few months for a coffee or a drink to discuss your views of the performance further, then please could you call me on the number above, or fill in the slip below and send it in the stamped, addressed envelope provided.

Many thanks for your consideration of this matter.

Nichola Wood (Ph.D. research student).

-----✂-----✂-----✂-----

I would be happy for you to contact me to arrange a meeting to discuss the T in the Park performance that I attended.

First Name:

Phone Number:

Appendix Three

Sample of Flyer Used to Recruit Audience Member Interviewees

Wanted!

I am carrying out research on people's experience of live performances of music, and would like to talk to anyone who has attended this year's Celtic Connections festival. So, if you live in the Glasgow or Edinburgh area and would be interested in meeting up to reminisce about the performances that you attended, or took part in, then please call me on 0131-650-XXXX, or fill in the slip below and return it in the pre-paid envelope provided.

Many thanks,

Nichola Wood (research student)

-----✂-----✂-----✂-----

I would be happy for you to contact me to arrange a meeting to discuss the Celtic Connections performance that I attended.

First Name:.....

Phone Number:.....

Appendix Four

'Informal' Questionnaire Sent to the Co-Ordinator of T in the Park

Nichola Wood, University of Edinburgh (Fax. 0131 650 2524)

T in the Park Questionnaire

Name:

Job Title:

1. What involvement have you had with T in the Park?
2. How many years have you been involved with the organisation of T in the Park?
3. What other events have DF concerts organised in the past two years?

4. Is DF Concerts a Scottish based company? If so where are you based?

5. When and where was T in the Park first held? If its location has changed, then could you please briefly explain why?

6. What motivated the establishment of T in the Park?

7. In past promotional literature T in the Park has been described as a uniquely Scottish event. Was it always the intention to create a distinctive Scottish festival, or is this just how T in the Park has developed?

8. If it was intentional to make T in the Park a Scottish event, then in what ways have you tried to achieve this?

9. Do you think that T in the Park differs from other British rock festivals (like Glastonbury, Reading etc.)? If so, how?

10. How do you choose which acts are going to play? Do you have any specific criteria for choosing acts?

11. Would you describe any of the acts at this year's T in the Park as Scottish? If so, could you explain what makes them Scottish to you?

12. How was your sponsorship with Tennent's established. Were you keen to have a Scottish sponsor, or were there other factors that affected this decision?

13. Approximately how many people attended this year's T in the Park? How many of these camped? And how do these figures differ from the first year that T in the park ran?

14. Why do you think T in the Park is as successful as it is?

15. Additional Comments.

Details of Featured Interviews/Interviewees

Celtic Connections:

'Name' ¹	'Role'	Interviewee Details	Interview Location	Interview Date
Alan ²	Audience Member	Canadian, mid 40s	Glasgow Royal Concert Hall	27/01/00
Billy	Audience Member and fiddle maker	Scottish, mid 40s		
Chris	Audience Maker	Channel Islander, early 30s		
Paul	Audience Member	American, mid 40s		
Andy	Audience Member	Scottish, early 40s ³	Borders' Bookstore café, Glasgow	03/03/00
Angus	Audience Member	Scottish, early 30s	Gallery of Modern Art café, Glasgow	03/03/00
Archie	Audience Member	Scottish, late 60s	Glasgow Royal Concert Hall	27/01/00
Beth	Audience Member	New Zealander, mid 30s	Iguana café/bar, Edinburgh	07/02/00
Charlie	Audience Member	Scottish, late 30s	Gallery of Modern Art café, Glasgow	22/03/00
Charlotte	Audience Member	English, late 20s	My flat	05/02/00
Diane	Audience Member	American, early 20s	Borders' Bookstore café, Glasgow	08/02/00
Kirsty	Audience Member	Scottish, early 20s		
Dougie	Audience Member	Scottish, late 60s	Gallery of Modern Art café, Glasgow	04/02/00
	Education Officer	Scottish female, early 50s	Festival Theatre café/bar, Edinburgh	02/06/00

¹ All names refer to pseudonyms or the roles that people played in the festivals. In two cases interviewees asked to retain their own names. Where interviewees had Scottish or Gaelic names I have replaced them with Scottish or Gaelic pseudonyms.

² Interviewee details collected together in this way indicate a group interview.

³ All ages are approximated.

Eleanor	Audience Member	Irish, late 60s	Gallery of Modern Art café, Glasgow	04/02/00
	Festival Co-Ordinator	Scottish male, mid 30s	Glasgow Royal Concert Hall	29/03/00
Fraser	Audience Member	Scottish, early 40s	The Tron pub, Edinburgh	03/02/00
Gregor	Audience Member	Scottish, mid 40s	Railway Station Café, Stirling	11/02/00
Horse	Performer	Scottish, late 30s	13 th Note café/bar, Glasgow	03/04/00
Kate	Audience Member	Scottish, late 40s	Gallery of Modern Art café, Glasgow	14/02/00
Martin	Performer	Scottish, early 40s	Festival Theatre café/bar, Edinburgh	21/04/00
Mary	Performer	Scottish, mid 30s	Iguana café/bar, Edinburgh	29/06/00
Peter	Performer	Scottish, early 30s	Café Florentine, Edinburgh	24/10/00
Sarah	Audience Member	Scottish, late 20s	Department of Geography, Edinburgh	02/02/00
Sebastian	Performer	Scottish, early 30s	Susie's Diner, Edinburgh	13/02/00
Suzy	Audience Member	New Zealander, early 30s	Iguana café/bar, Edinburgh	07/02/00
Tony	Performer	Scottish, mid 30s	Telephone interview	11/05/00
Ccomm04 ⁴	Audience Member	Scottish female, early 50s	Glasgow Royal Concert Hall	13/01/00
Ccomm05	Audience Member	Scottish male, mid 30s	Glasgow Royal Concert Hall	14/01/00

⁴ Respondents who took part in on the spot interviews at performances have not been given a pseudonym to distinguish them between those respondents that I interviewed after the performances.

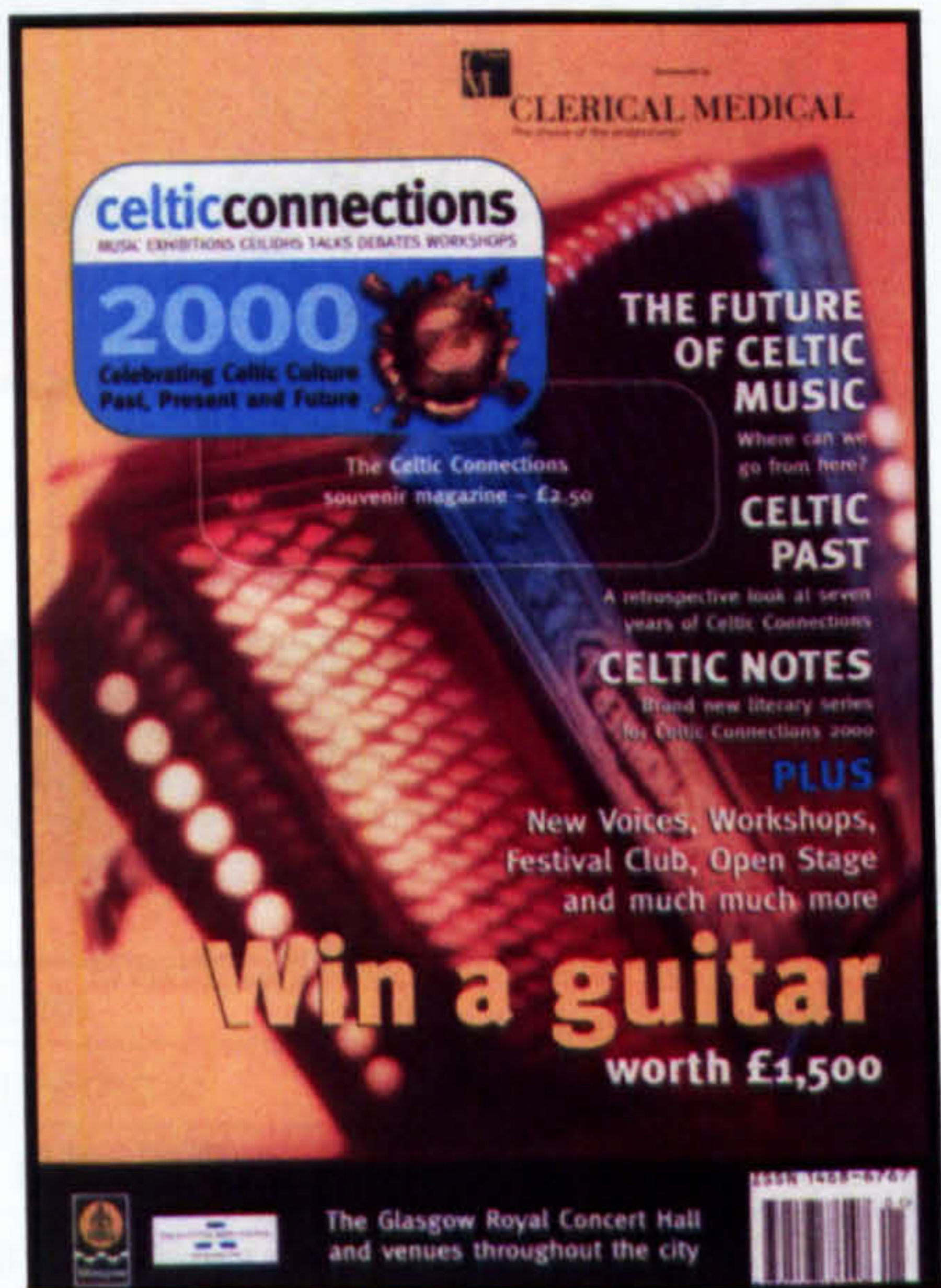
T in the Park:

'Name'	'Role'	Interviewee Details	Interview Location	Interview Date
Alex	Performer	Scottish, late 20s	Flat that was used as band's HQ, Glasgow	10/11/00
Callum	Performer	Scottish, late 20s		
Clive	Performer	Scottish, early 30s		
Emma	Performer	Scottish, late 20s		
Eilidh	Audience Member	Scottish, early 20s	Iguana café/bar, Edinburgh	13/07/00
Jane	Audience Member	Scottish, early 20s	Susie's Diner, Edinburgh	18/07/00
Jimmy	Performer	Scottish, mid 30s	Gairdener's Airms pub, Glasgow	11/12/00
Sally	Audience Member	New Zealander, mid 20s	Black Medicine café, Edinburgh	04/08/00
Siobhan	Audience Member	English, late 20s	Iguana café/bar, Edinburgh	17/07/00
Sonia	Audience Member	Scottish, early 20s	Iguana café/bar, Edinburgh	24/07/00
Stewart	Audience Member	Scottish, early teens	Telephone Interview	02/09/00
Tcomm3	Audience Member	Scottish male, early 20s	T in the Park	08/07/00
Tcomm4	Audience Member	English female, mid 20s	T in the Park	08/07/00
Tcomm6	Audience Member	Scottish female, late 20s	T in the Park	08/07/00
Tcomm8	Audience Member	Scottish female, early 30s	T in the Park	08/07/00
Tcomm11	Audience Member	Scottish male, mid 30s	T in the Park	08/07/00
Tcomm12	Audience Member	Scottish female, late teens	T in the Park	08/07/00
Tcomm13	Audience Member	Scottish male, mid 30s	T in the Park	08/07/00
Tcomm15	Audience Member	R1: Scottish male, late teens R2: Scottish male, late teens R3: Scottish male, late teens	T in the Park	08/07/00
Tcomm17	Audience Member	English male, early 30s	T in the Park	08/08/00

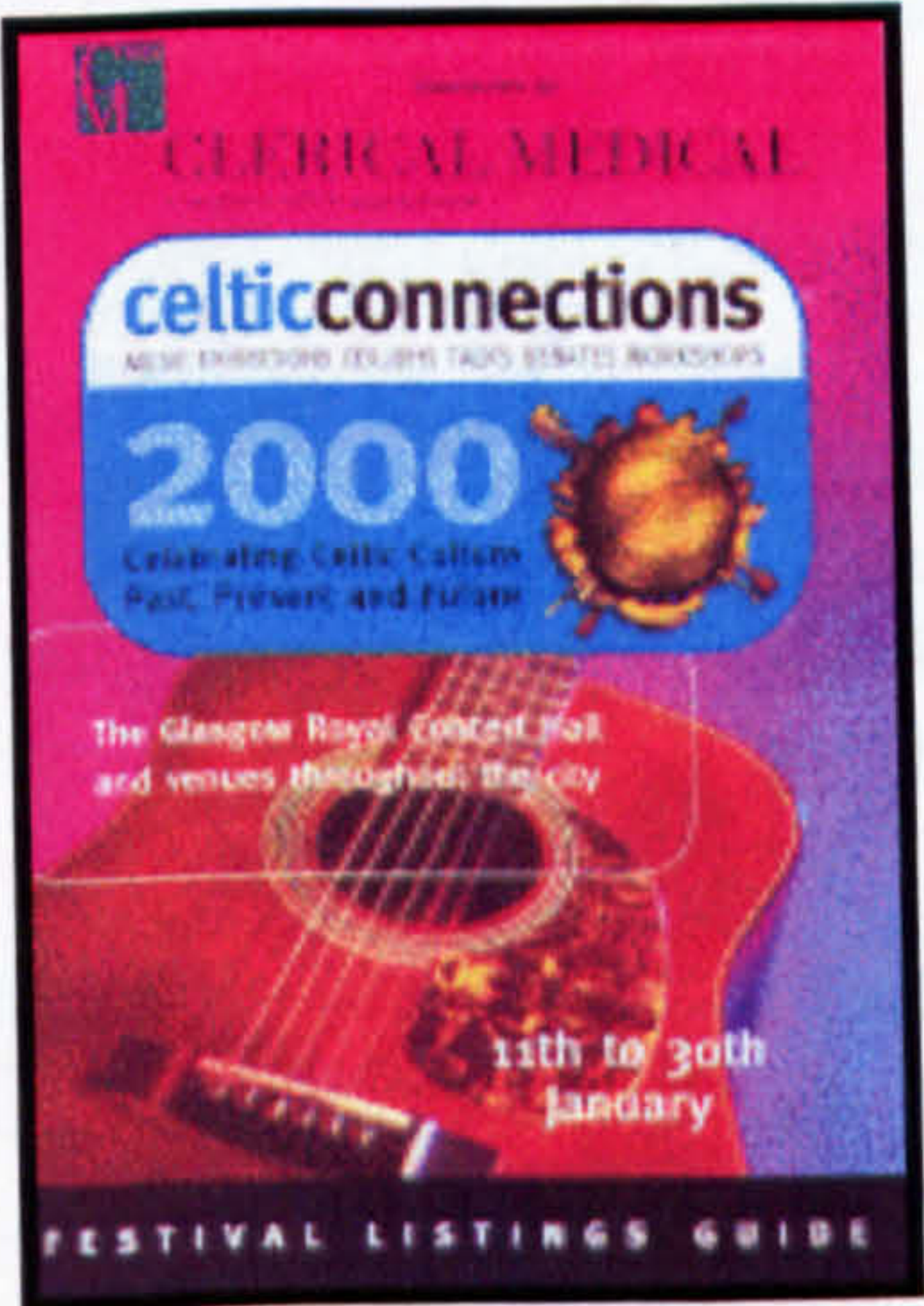
Tcomm18	Audience Members	R2: Scottish male, mid 20s R3: Scottish female, mid 20s	T in the Park	08/08/00
Tcomm19	Audience Members	R1: English female, early 40s R2: English female, early 40s	T in the Park	08/07/00
Tcomm21	Audience Members	R1: Scottish male, mid 20s R2: Scottish male, mid 20s	T in the Park	08/07/00
Tcomm26	Audience Members	R2: Scottish male, mid teens R3: Scottish male, mid teens R4: Scottish female, mid teens	T in the Park	08/07/00
Tcomm27	Audience Member	Scottish male, late 20s	T in the Park	09/07/00
Tcomm29	Audience Member	R1: Scottish female, early 20s R2: Scottish female, early 20s	T in the Park	09/07/00
Tcomm31	Audience Members	R1: Scottish male, mid 30s R2: Scottish male, mid 30s	T in the Park	09/07/00
Tcomm32	Audience Members	Scottish female, early 20s	T in the Park	09/07/00
Tcomm34	Audience Member	Scottish male, early 20s	T in the Park	09/07/00

Examples of Festival Promotional Material

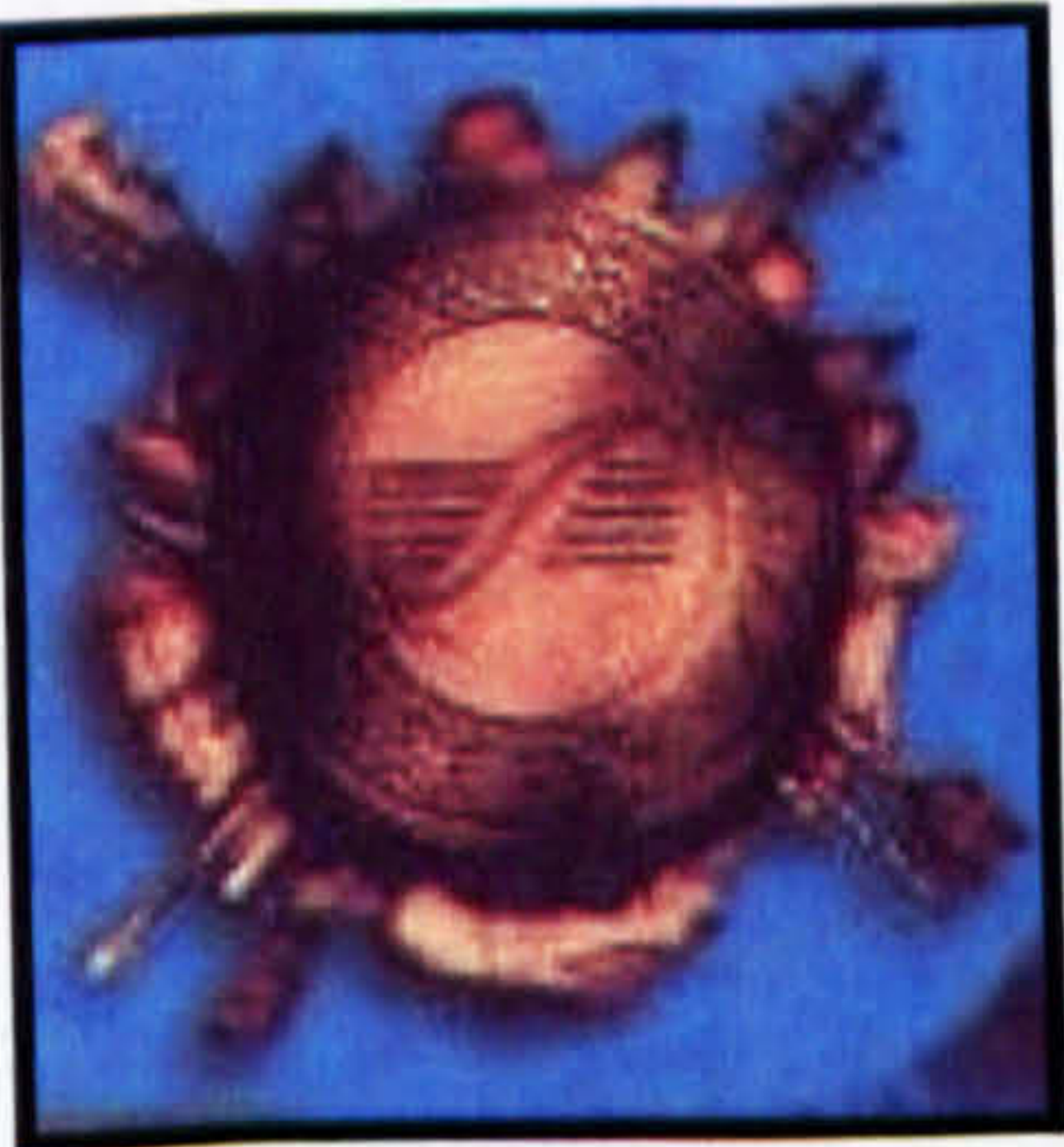
Celtic Connections:



Souvenir brochure



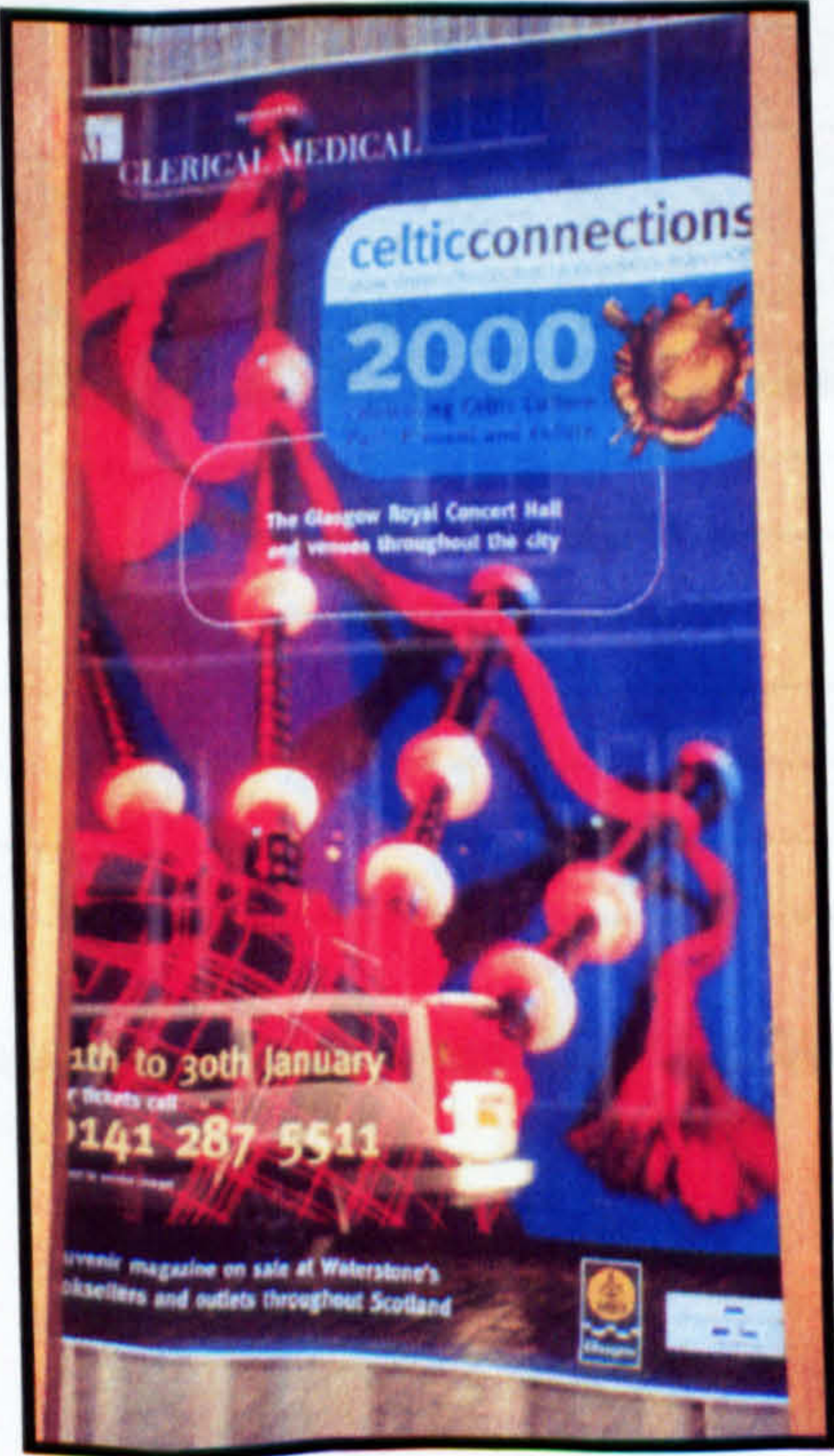
Festival Listings Guide



Celtic Connections logo



'Harp' promotional poster



'Bagpipes' promotional poster

T in the Park:

Saturday 8th & Sunday 9th July
Balado, Perth & Kinross SCOTLAND
LICENSED VENUE
Over 100 Artists on 8 Stages

T in the park

Saturday 8th July

MAIN STAGE
Ocean Colour Scene
Fun Lovin' Criminals
Gomez • The Bluetones • Feeder
Lynden David Hall • David Gray • All Saints

STAGE 2
Moby • Beth Orton
Morcheeba • The Wannadies • Doves
My Vitriol • JJ72 • Aereogramme • LCN

SLAM TENT
DJ Sneak & Gene Farris v.
Roger Sanchez & Junior Sanchez
Kevin Saunderson • Derrick May • Tom Middleton
Funk d'void • Rolando (UK)

KING TITS
Moloko • Badly Drawn Boy
Toploader • Dom Dums • Loopt • Crashland
King Adora • It's Jo & Danny

Sunday 9th July

MAIN STAGE
Travis
Macy Gray • Supergrass • Iggy Pop
Idlewild • Bootleg Beatles
The Clint Boon Experience • Lulu

STAGE 2
Embrace • Muse • Groove Armada
Dark Star • Day One • Manchild • Dara

SLAM TENT
Special Guests • Death in Vegas
Carl Cox & Jim Masters v.
Slam (Stuart McMillan & Orde Meikle)
Andrew Weatherall • Darren Emerson
James Lavelle • Universal Principles

KING TITS
Flaming Lips • Les Rythmes Digitales
Blackalicious • A • Coldplay • Orusel Yatsura • Snotwax
Justin Lewis Orchestra • The Boho Sub Band

www.tinthe park.com
24hr Festival Hotline: 07000 113114

Festival flyer

SATURDAY 8 & SUNDAY 9 JULY, 2000: BALADO, NEAR KINROSS

T in the park

THE GUIDE 2000

NME **mail** **TENNENT'S GARDEN**

Souvenir brochure

Other Festival Appearances by Bands that have Played T in the Park

	Festivals			
	T in the Park	Carling Weekend (Leeds and Reading)	Glastonbury	V2000
Artists				
A	•	•		
All Saints	•			
Aereogramme	•			
Badly Drawn Boy	•	•	•	
Blackalicious	•			
The Bluetones	•	•	•	
The Boho Sub Band	•		•	
Bootleg Beatles	•			
The Clint Boon Experience	•	•		
Coldplay	•		•	
Crashland	•	•		
Dara	•			
Dark Star	•	•	•	
Day One	•		•	
Doves	•	•	•	
Dum Dums	•			
Embrace	•	•	•	
Feeder	•		•	
Flamin' Lips	•		•	
Fun Lovin' Criminals	•			
Gomez	•	•		
David Gray	•		•	
Macy Gray	•			
Groove Armada	•		•	
Lynden David Hall	•			
Idlewild	•	•	•	

¹ Bands are those who played on the larger stages: The Main Stage, Stage 2 and Field Tent. Bands who appeared on smaller stages are not featured.

Iggy Pop	•				
It's Jo & Danny	•		•		
JJ72	•		•		
Justin Lewis Orchestra	•		•		
King Adora	•	•			
Looper	•				
LSK	•			•	
Manchild	•		•	•	
Moby	•		•	•	
Moloko	•		•	•	
Morcheeba	•		•	•	
Muse	•		•		
My Vitriol	•	•	•		
Ocean Colour Scene	•		•	•	•
Beth Orton	•			•	
Les Rhythmes Digitales	•	•			•
Soulwax	•		•	•	
Supergrass	•			•	
Toploader	•		•	•	
Travis	•		•	•	•
Urusei Yatsura	•				
The Wannadies	•	•	•		

Source: T in the Park promotional flyer and Festivals 2000 Guide compiled by Eccleston and Sutcliffe in *Q* (July 2000).

N.B. The festivals featured in this table are those presenting the greatest numbers of T in the Park performers. There are several other festivals including Glasgow Green and Guildford where one or two artists also played.

Appendix Eight

Tracks Featured on Accompanying CD

Track	Artist	Track Title	Date of Original Recording	Taken From...
1	Horse	Some Wonderful	2001	Horse (2001) <i>Hindsight... it's a wonderful thing</i> (Randan - RANHCDA 02)
2	R.U. Brown	Park Piobaireachd No. 2	1953	Robert B. Nicol and Robert U. Brown (2001) <i>Masters of Piobaireachd Vol. Three</i> (Greentrax – CDTRAX 216)
3	Alasdair Fraser and Paul Machlis	The Beauty of the North (<i>Mais' an Taobh Tuath</i>)	2000	Alasdair Fraser and Paul Machlis (2000) <i>The Legacy of the Scottish Fiddle Vol. One</i> (Culburnie – CUL118D)
4	Runrig	<i>Sìol Ghoraidh</i>	1989	Runrig (1996) <i>Long Distance: The Best of Runrig</i> (Chrysalis – CDCHR 6116)
5	Maggie MacInnes, Flora MacNeil and Cairistiona MacInnes	<i>Disathuirne A Ghabh Mi Mulad</i> (Waulking Song)	1999	Gaelic Women (1999) <i>Ar Cànan 'S Ar Ceòl</i> (Greentrax – CDTRAX 172)
6	Moirra Anderson	My Ain House	1975	Various Artists (1994) <i>Best of Scotland</i> (EMI Gold – 532 9682)
7	Andy Stewart	A Scottish Soldier	1960	Various Artists (1994) <i>Best of Scotland</i> (EMI Gold – 532 9682)
8	The Alexander Brothers	Back to Bonnie Scotland / Skye Boat Song / Westering Home	2001	The Alexander Brothers (2001) <i>Jimmy Shand: The Legend</i> (Scotdisk – CDITV4S 680)
9	Martyn Bennett and Martin Low	PLAY	1999	Martyn Bennett and Martin Low (1999) <i>Hardland</i> (Cuillin – CUILL CD 01)
10	Shooglenifty	The Pipe Tunes	1996	Shooglenifty (1996) <i>Live at Selwyn Hall, Box</i> (Real World Records – WSCD008)
11	'Cirrus' ¹	'Piece 2'	N/A	N/A

¹ In order to protect the anonymity of the performers discussed in chapter 5 artist and track name are pseudonyms.

Appendix Nine

Published Works Based on Thesis

Chapter taken from:

Bondi, Liz; Avis, Hannah; Bankey, Ruth; Bingley, Amanda; Davidson, Joyce; Duffy, Rosaleen; Einagel, Victoria Ingrid; Green, Anja-Maaike; Johnston, Lynda; Lilley, Susan; Listerborn, Carina; McEwan, Shonagh; Marshy, Mona; O'Connor, Niamh; Rose, Gillian; Vivat, Bella and Wood, Nichola (2002) *Subjectivities, Knowledge and Feminist Geographies: The Subjects and Ethics of Social Research*, Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

4

"Once More with Feeling": Putting Emotion into Geographies of Music

Nichola Wood

When I started my doctoral research I knew that I wanted to explore the emotive power of national identities. However, I was unsure of exactly *how* and *what* I was going to study in order to gain a greater understanding of national identities as emotive phenomena. It soon became clear that studying live musical performances could offer an interesting route into exploring the emotional attachments that people have to a nation and their national identity. This decision was inspired, in part, by the works of a number of scholars writing within studies of nations and nationalism, who recognized that music is often "used" by a variety of actors to encourage nationalistic sentiments (Connor 1994; Penrose 1994).

My decision to study musical performances was also influenced by a strong belief that while there appear to be a number of ways in which people can form an attachment to a nation, music seems to be an especially emotive medium through which ideas of national belonging and nationalistic sentiments can be experienced and expressed. Here the examples of the expression of nationalistic songs in international sporting fixtures and the nationalistic rhetoric surrounding the Last Night of the Proms are illustrative.

The Last Night of the Proms is the annual finale of a series of summer promenade concerts that were first organized in 1895 to widen access to classical music.¹ The Proms are known for their informal nature; "prommers" are given the option of either standing or sitting at concerts, and tickets are usually very inexpensive. Over time the "Last Night" has become something of a fun celebration of British tradition. Traditionally many members of the audience attend wearing Union Jack costumes,² join in the singing, and blow whistles and air-horns during the final four pieces of the performance. These are Elgar's Pomp and Circumstance March no. 1 ("Land of Hope and Glory" sometimes thought of as an alternative British national anthem), "Rule, Britannia!," "Jerusalem," and Sir Henry Wood's "Fantasia on British Sea-Songs." These

four pieces of music *appear* to elicit nationalistic sentiments in the audience as they are sung with great passion and fervor and are accompanied with enthusiastic flag waving. Sitting at home watching these performances on the television I have often been moved by feelings of national belonging and community. These are pieces of music that I recognize as being significant to ideas of Britishness (although perhaps ideas of Englishness may be more accurate here) and seeing and hearing them performed in such passionate ways strikes a chord within me.³ If it is acknowledged then that music has emotive properties, and that performances can be used in various ways by a number of actors to produce nationalistic sentiments, then it appears that there are good political reasons for exploring the emotive capacity of music as a medium of communication. Indeed, I would argue here that I believe that any expression of nationalistic sentiments, whether musical or not, are potentially dangerous, because the concept of nation and the ideology of nationalism are inherently exclusionary. Therefore, while musical performances such as the Last Night of the Proms may provide an occasion for people to "celebrate" their British (or English) identity, they simultaneously aid the construction of particular, exclusionary ideas of nationhood, in this case, a nationhood that is white, cultured in "high arts," and so forth.

While the Last Night of the Proms is only one representation of Britishness, questions should be asked about the effect that this event, and others like it, have on people's ideas of national distinctiveness and national belonging. People may express, in what may seem like harmless ways, ideas of national identity. However, what is being expressed is an identity that is ultimately exclusionary. Here the complexities of belonging to a national community are exposed. There is nothing wrong *per se* with wanting to belong to a community of people with whom you feel some kind of affinity. However, problems occur when a community is constructed along strict social and/or cultural criteria that limit membership and then, in turn, restrict access to certain rights and resources. In addition, if musical expressions and experiences of national identities are emotive, then one also has to consider the potential that musical performances have for inciting hatred and prejudice against those who are not considered part of the imagined national community. Here the examples of the use of music in Nazi Germany and contemporary European neo-Nazi groups are illustrative (Wicke 1985; Hockenos 1993). It is for this reason that I think it is important that we gain a better understanding of what it is about music and the social, cultural, and political contexts in which it is performed and experienced that makes it potentially so emotive.

Recently, a number of works have been published that are termed aural or sonic geographies. This rapidly growing subdiscipline is potentially relevant to my interest in the links between the experience of musical performances and the formation of national identities and communities (Kong 1995; Leyshon, Matless, and Revill 1995; Revill 2000; Smith 1997, 2000; Valentine 1995). However, while a number of authors recognize that music is emotive, few of them discuss what it is about music, as a medium of communication, that makes it so powerful.⁴ Indeed, despite geography's recent interest in the ways in which sound and music⁵ inform the production and experience of space, place, and social processes (such as the formation of iden-

ties and communities), little is said about the ways in which the emotive properties of music influence these phenomena.

In some respects it is not surprising that this issue is rarely addressed, because it is extremely difficult to conceive of and articulate the emotive properties of music. As a form of communication, music is often used to express those feelings and emotions that cannot be expressed as easily through other media, such as writing or painting. Indeed, Smith (1997: 504) argues that "[w]riting about music is like dancing about architecture, listening to a ballet or feeling the texture of a painting—it might be helpful, but it is not the best, most direct or most appropriate way of illustrating the power of the art." However, a further reason why consideration of emotions has been omitted from geographies of music may be found in the way in which geographers (and musicologists) have conceptualized music. As the next section of this chapter will illustrate, traditionally geographers have treated music, almost exclusively, as a cultural product. In recent years, though, geographers have begun to reconceptualize music, recognizing that it is not just a cultural product, but perhaps more importantly, it is a medium of experience (Frith 1996) and a way of understanding the world (Attali 1985).

Building on these developments, this chapter investigates the reasons why an exploration and consideration of emotions is crucial to such a reconceptualization of music and aural geographies. I argue that an omission of the emotive qualities of music creates a missed opportunity for exploring the power of music as a medium of experience and exchange. In addition, this chapter considers the more general impacts that an exploration of emotions may have for geographical inquiry as a whole, and I argue that absenting emotions from geographical scholarship prevents a consideration of the ways in which individuals potentially experience and interact with their social, cultural, and physical environments in emotionally intensive ways. Such an omission of emotion limits our understanding not only of the ways in which people experience space and place emotionally but, perhaps more important, it neglects the potential importance of emotional experiences in processes of subjectivity formation.

I develop these arguments by first exploring in greater depth the ways in which music has been conceptualized and utilized in geographical inquiry. I then discuss the notion of music as an emotive medium of experience through an examination of the work of Douglas Pocock (1989) and Anthony Storr (1992). I go on to develop the debates arising from these studies through an exploration of some of the factors that may, in part, explain how music has emotive power. I argue that it is not just the performance or consumption of music *per se* that enables the experience of emotional reactions; rather there are a number of temporal, spatial, social, and cultural factors that potentially influence the ways in which a person emotionally experiences music.

MUSIC AND GEOGRAPHY

Recent developments in cultural geography have highlighted the visual bias within the discipline and, more generally, within the social sciences (Leyshon, Matless, and

Revill 1995; Pocock 1989, 1993; Rodaway 1994; Smith 1994), and call for a more multisensory approach to social research. Out of these debates has arisen an awareness that privileging visual forms of empirical evidence has limited geography's and geographers' understanding of the ways in which people experience sensory stimuli in their everyday experiences of space and place. In addition, how these sensory stimuli influence social processes such as identity formation and the production and experience of space and place has also been neglected.

In an effort to counter this omission a number of geographers have begun to incorporate nonvisual experiences into geographical thinking (Pocock 1993; Porteous 1985; Rodaway 1994; Smith 1994). In particular, there has been a strong emphasis on the significance of the aural or sonic world, including recognition of the importance of sound and music in people's *experience* of, and in the *production* of, both "real" and "imaginary" spaces and places (Kong 1995; Leyshon, Matless, and Revill 1995; Pocock 1989; Rodaway 1994; Smith 1997; Valentine 1995).

Despite the significance of these works, it is surprising how few authors discuss *why* and *how* music influences people's perceptions of space and place. It appears that while music is being incorporated into geographical knowledges, it is treated primarily as a cultural product, rather than as an experience that is dynamic and can be "felt" and "embodied." By the notion of *feeling* music, I refer to two things. The first is the notion of feeling as emotion. For example a person may experience feelings of happiness or sadness when listening to particular pieces of music. Second, feeling music refers to the idea that the vibration of music (and sound) causes a tactile sensation. Think, for example, of how strong bass lines or loud noises can be felt to resonate through the body. Indeed the success of the deaf percussionist Evelyn Glennie is illustrative of this.

By using the term embodied I refer to the ways in which the experience of musical performances influences the formation of subjectivities. Here I allude to the ways in which music enables the (mental and physical) expression and experience of emotions, which, in order to be understood, require life experiences to be drawn upon, while simultaneously aiding the creation of new understandings of knowing and being.

This omission of emotions from sonic geographies inquiry is interesting for a number of reasons (Widdowfield 2000). Although contemporary commentators have not studied the ways in which music influences the emotions, this does not mean that these phenomena have not been studied in the past. As Meyer (1956) and Storr (1992) remind us, classical scholars recognized that music, as a form of communication, had a distinctive intimacy that could shape people's characters. For example, Plato argued that "musical training is a more potent instrument than any other, because rhythm and harmony find their way into the inward places of the soul, on which they mightily fasten, imparting grace, and making the soul of him [sic] who is rightly educated graceful, or of him [sic] who is uneducated ungraceful" (cited in Jowett 1892: 665). Plato's work is valuable because it illustrates that during the classical era scholars described links between music and emotion and, what is more, recognized that music could be influential in the construction of identities. This raises the question of why scholars ceased to explore the emotive qualities of music.

One answer—and I am aware that it perhaps only partially addresses the issue—is to be found in the influence on academic thinking of the modern (Cartesian) notion of sight as the most important of the senses. Indeed, as Jay (1993) illustrates with the example of the invention of the telescope and the microscope, seeing was assumed to be the equivalent of knowing. Out of this ocular-centrism arose the rational/irrational dualism that has influenced the way in which social science has been conducted for many years. It was assumed that anything that could be seen could be explored and examined in a "rational" way (Shepherd 1991). However, phenomena that could not be seen or explained through visual methodologies were deemed irrational and, therefore, somehow unworthy of inclusion in academic pursuits. It is for this reason that visual methodologies have dominated social science research for so long and have influenced people's conceptualization and perception of the world so heavily.

It therefore appears, as Smith (1997) argues, that the omission of the aural from academic inquiry is at least in part an outcome of the dominance of the visual ideology. For modern social scientists the use of the nonvisual, and more important, the inclusion of emotional experiences in social science research, was regarded as irrational (Lupton 1998). In the contemporary era, however, conventional notions of truth and rationality have been disrupted so that many social scientists now believe there is no one rational or irrational way of experiencing the world; rather people and their experiences are complex, multiple, and fractured.

This disruption is due mainly to the works of a number of feminist scholars (Alcoff 1996; Harding 1994; Stanley and Wise 1993), including feminist geographers (Gibson-Graham 1994; McDowell 1995a; Rose 1993) who have critiqued the idea of singular notions of truth and rationality. Indeed, these feminist scholars have successfully illustrated that a pursuit of truth through the utilization of rational, objective scholarship is erroneous, because the gendered (as well as classed, racialized, and sexualized) subjectivities of scholars necessarily influence the design, conduct, and interpretation of academic research.⁶ Feminist scholars have also questioned what constitutes "proper" academic knowledge and have called for an inclusion of what were once deemed irrational forms of knowledge, such as those ideas and conceptions thought to belong to the feminized realm of emotions (Lupton 1998).

While these ideas support the view that aural experiences of the world are as valid as visual experiences, the reluctance of social scientists to use aural experiences and to develop new methodologies that allow for a better exploration of the aural world is illustrative of two further points. The first is that visual methodologies have had a profound influence on patterns of thought. As Smith (2000) argues, it appears that many people have enormous difficulty in conceptualizing a world in which the visual is not central to experiences of space and place, and in which nonvisual experiences are not placed in a visual/nonvisual dichotomy. The tendency of scholars to treat music as a cultural product that can be studied in an abstract manner (via the study of musical scores, or lyrics), rather than exploring the potential importance of the practice of *performance*, is illustrative of this.

Second, reluctance to use aural experiences illustrates concerns arising from the dominance of modern notions of rationality. Despite feminist challenges to conventional notions of truth and rationality, the reluctance of social scientists to engage in explorations of emotions suggests that scholars continue to find the incorporation of "irrational" concepts into their research problematic. However, as Connor (1994) argues in his work on ethnonationalism, it is important that scholars address what were once regarded as irrational phenomena (such as emotions), because it is here that the power of nationalism is to be found. Connor (204) problematizes the rational/irrational dualism by arguing that some phenomena, such as the notion of the existence of national bonds between people, can be explained neither rationally nor irrationally, because they are what he terms *nonrational*: they "can be analysed, but not explained rationally." What is more, Connor argues that an exploration of music is one way in which the nonrational core can be reached and triggered. Thus, there are excellent grounds for social scientists to explore aural experiences as a route to studying nonrational phenomena such as emotions.

MUSICAL EXPERIENCE AND EMOTIONAL RESPONSES

It has been acknowledged since classical times that music can evoke emotional responses (Meyer 1956; Storr 1992). Pocock (1989) argues that hearing is the most primitive of the senses: fetuses as young as five months old can respond to sound, and hearing is the last sense to be "lost" when people are given anesthesia. He also argues that music holds a special key to interiority, emphasizing that "sound not only surrounds but can penetrate the very core of the sentient." He states "[t]he primitive power of music, which bypasses the cerebral and directly addresses the heart, elicits an emotional response: we are 'moved' perhaps elated, perhaps disturbed" (194).

While Pocock's emphasis on the way music is felt accords with my argument, his separation of "the cerebral" and "the heart" is problematic for two reasons. First it is impossible to separate mental and physical ways of experiencing music. To do so simply reinstates the Cartesian dichotomy between the rational and the irrational. Second, incorporating a consideration of "the cerebral" into our overall understanding of people's experience of music is extremely important. As Susan McClary (1991: 21) argues, the ways in which people experience music is influenced by a number of social, political, and cultural factors:

Most members of a given social group succeed in internalising the norms of their chosen music and are quite sophisticated in their abilities to respond appropriately. They know how to detect even minor stylistic infractions and to respond variously with delight or indignation, depending upon how they identify themselves with respect to the style at hand.

McClary's argument that people's emotional reactions to music are socially, culturally, and politically conditioned is supported by Deborah Lupton's observation that emo-

tions are "shaped, experienced and interpreted through social and cultural phenomena" (1998: 2). It seems then that there are good reasons for challenging Pocock's description of how music elicits emotive responses, and to explore alternative explanations, such as those proposed by the psychiatrist Anthony Storr.

In his book *Music and the Mind*, Storr (1992: 4) investigates why "the art of music and the reality of human emotion" are closely linked. He articulates these links through the concept of arousal, which he describes as:

a condition of heightened alertness, awareness, interest and excitement: a generally enhanced state of being. This is at its minimum in sleep and at its maximum when human beings are experiencing powerful emotions like intense grief, rage, or sexual excitement. (24-25)

Storr argues that a number of physical and psychological reactions to arousal can be measured. For example, tests using an electroencephalogram (which records changes in the amplitude and frequency of brain waves) show that during arousal the electrical resistance of the skin is diminished, the pupil of the eye dilates; and respiratory rates may change speed.⁷ In addition there are also increases in blood pressure, heart rate, and muscle tone (which may be accompanied by increases in restlessness). Storr likens these changes to those experienced by animals preparing for action, whether it be fight, flight, or mating.

This evidence suggests that there are multiple physical and psychological responses to music, but Storr argues that these are the conditions of arousal and not of specific emotions. Although it is difficult to separate the arousal and specific emotions because arousal is a necessary part of the process of emotional reaction, Storr's distinction is important because the two "parts" of the process have very different social and cultural implications. In other words, while most people may identify with processes of arousal such as increases in heart rate, they may not necessarily experience identical emotions that accompany such states. This challenges the assumption that music elicits the same emotional experiences in people and is significant for interpersonal relationships that are built upon the shared experience of a musical performance (whether these relations are between an individual listener and a performer, or between members of the same audience).

Contradicting Storr's (1992) account, a number of authors (Cohen 1995; Valentine 1995) argue that the concept of "shared emotions" provides a possible explanation of why people often find music to be a source of comfort and support as well as crucial to the formation of communities. Cohen (1995) for example, explores how social practices involving the production and experience of music drew the immigrant Jews of Brownlow Hill in Liverpool together. One of her interviewees, an eighty-eight-year-old, second-generation Polish immigrant, Jack, described how his mother and aunts used to sit and listen to gramophone recordings of Yiddish songs, and Cohen (1995: 437) argues that:

The Yiddish music provoked and structured particular emotions in Jack's female relatives, through which they expressed their feelings about their country of origin and the

relations and practices that they had left behind. The music brought them together and symbolised their collective identity.

According to Storr (1992) emotions are not shared in this way, and all that is shared is the experience of arousal. So how can the experiences described by Jack be understood and explained? Rom Harré (1986) offers a useful account, arguing that physiological responses such as increased heartbeat and swollen tear ducts become irrelevant to the study of emotions when one considers how the local social world, by way of its linguistic practices defines emotional encounters. Indeed Harré (5) argues that examining the social practices that surround the construction of emotions presents the possibility that "many emotions can exist only in the reciprocal exchanges of a social encounter" (compare Lupton 1998). In other words, people may undergo processes of arousal (as Storr illustrates), but they only experience emotions through social interactions or discourses. In Cohen's (1995) example Jack described his relatives' emotions (and not just processes of arousal) as experienced through the discourse of song.

Harré's argument offers a useful explanation of the ways in which emotions are socially constructed. However, I would argue that it is not just the social world and its linguistic practices that influence the construction of emotions. Rather, it is equally important to consider the spatial and temporal contexts in which emotional reactions to music are experienced. This is particularly important when thinking about the ways in which musical performances provide opportunities for the emotional experience of national identity.

MUSIC AS AN EXPERIENCE OF TIME, SPACE, AND PLACE

I have argued that the temporal and spatial contexts in which people experience music may affect the emotional ways in which music is experienced. I now want to discuss what some of these temporal and spatial factors might be. The purpose of this section is not to produce a definitive list of temporal and spatial influences. Instead, by drawing primarily on my own experience of music, I demonstrate that the temporal and spatial settings of music are important for understanding how music "works" as an emotive medium of experience and exchange. I illustrate that music is not simply a cultural product, as many aural or sonic geographers would have us believe, but that the spatial and temporal settings in which music is performed and experienced is what makes the experience of music dynamic, exciting, and unpredictable.

Cultural Considerations

There are a number of cultural conventions that both performers and audiences adhere to when experiencing performances of music. The way in which one listens and "participates" during a performance is dependent not only on the type of musical

performance attended, but also on the cultural context within which the music is experienced. For example, there are "acceptable" types of behavior that are normally expected when attending a classical music performance.⁸ Once seated, for instance, it is not acceptable to walk around the auditorium, just as it would be thought highly inappropriate to sing along to your favorite aria at the opera.⁹ In contrast, the experience of listening to a pop or rock concert may be very much more informal. Depending on the venue, the audience is not always seated and audience participation such as singing and dancing is regularly encouraged by the performers rather than frowned upon.

At a classical music concert, a range of emotions from sadness and despair to joy and excitement can be experienced, but they are seldom expressed outwardly. Consequently, when looking around the audience it is rare to see anybody moving or showing any physical expression of emotion, except perhaps through the exchange of glances and smiles with neighboring audience members. For me, at least, the emotions that I experience are expressed on a very intimate level, such as tears gently rolling down my face, hair rising on the back of my neck, or getting a "lump" in my throat, which is caused by the suppression of an emotional response. However, at the rock concerts, I express emotions much more openly through clapping, cheering, singing, and dancing.

Such cultural conventions are also dependent on the geographical location of the performance. In a recent article in the music magazine *Q*, journalist Alexis Petridis (1999: 72) described the audiences who attended the Swedish rock group The Cardigans' "sell-out" Japanese tour as "almost comically reserved, applauding politely after each song then lapsing into a disconcerting pin-drop silence." This observation was echoed by the group's lead singer, Nina Persson, in an interview with Petridis (72):

Even when we played the Budokan,¹⁰ it's dead quiet. . . . In the beginning it was scary, because we thought we were really popular, we were like "What are we doing wrong?" We've sold a million albums in this country and no one seems to know the songs. Someone told us they just wanted to listen, they didn't want to interrupt.

Both Petridis and Persson interpret the reactions of the Japanese audience as something unusual, and both rely on the stereotypical understanding of the Japanese as a socially reserved society. As well as raising a number of questions about understandings of and interactions with other cultures, these comments highlight the fact that there are multiple, culturally specific ways in which music can be experienced emotionally.

A Shared Experience?

In addition to the influence of cultural conventions, who people share (or don't share) their experience of musical performances with also merits consideration. Indeed, part of the emotional power of musical performance comes from the experience of being

surrounded by other members of the audience. The bonds that are formed through sharing musical experiences in this way operate on a number of different social and spatial scales. On a smaller or more intimate level, music can be one of the bases and/or accompaniments to friendships and relationships. Through sharing musical experiences with other people and through using music to relay one's feelings to another person, music can be an important medium of communication. For example, music may arouse feelings of closeness and intimacy with friends and lovers. What is more, this can be done through the creation of certain spaces that allow for the expression of feelings and emotions at temporally specific times.

On an individual level, music can be important in the provision of a space and time for reflection for the listener or performer. People often seem to find solace and strength in either listening to or performing certain pieces of music that resonate with their own personal feelings. In addition, music can act as the "trigger" for memories that an individual may experience as pleasurable or painful. Thus experiencing music alone can be an emotionally intense experience. Indeed, for some people, being alone may enable them to express emotions more freely and fully than when sharing musical experience with others, for example by crying or playing the "air guitar."

Although I have separated personal from shared listening, my own experience suggests that it may be possible for an individual to experience all of these phenomena simultaneously. This multilayered quality explains, at least in part, the complexity and the richness of people's experiences of musical performances. However, what may be of equal importance to the ways in which people experience music is the role of "the personal."

In common with all human experience, the musical is personal. When individuals attend a musical performance of any type they take with them a lifetime's worth of emotional experiences that may, or may not, allow them to extract personal meanings from the music. Particular melodies, rhythms, or lyrics may provoke thoughts and feelings of past events and experiences, but the process of linking emotional meanings to music may not happen consciously on the part of performers or listeners. In noncognitive or nonconscious ways, emotions may be evoked that depend on past feelings and experiences (whether "real" or imagined) as well as on the present emotional state and mood of the listener.

On the surface it would seem that the ways in which music elicits emotional experiences are highly personalized. Some people's emotional reactions are triggered by particular melodies, bass-lines, or beats, while for others particular lyrics may be more influential. People develop their own personal, dynamic musical tastes. The music that gives pleasure and joy to one person may incite boredom or irritation in others.

Further exploration of the musical triggers that incite particular emotional experiences would allow us to identify commonalities and to understand more fully the potential music has to accommodate the sharing of emotional experiences. Colin McLeay's (1997) work is suggestive. He argues that there is a reciprocal relationship between the power of social and cultural discourses and people's personal experi-

ences of music, with specific reference to expressions of national identity. He highlights the contradictory meanings attributed to Bruce Springsteen's song "Born in the USA," showing how some social groups regard it as a celebration of the achievements of the United States, while others interpret it as a lament for a past "golden era." McLeay's work reminds us that even though people may have "personal" music tastes, these will be influenced by social, economic, cultural, and political factors, just as the personal and the self are constructed through these contexts.

The Importance of Intermediaries

It may also be important to think about how intermediaries between producers and consumers of music use genre to encourage particular kinds of emotional responses. In Western European and North American societies people are culturally conditioned to experience upbeat pieces in major keys as connoting emotions such as happiness or pride, whereas slower pieces in minor keys typically elicit more somber emotional experiences.¹¹ However, it is not just the key and tempo of the music that influence people's emotional experience of music: I would argue that listening to an upbeat piece of classical music may elicit different emotional responses than listening to techno, and while the influence of genre may be highly personalized, I would suggest that people's age, gender, race, sexuality, and class may also affect their experience of particular genres of music.

Through genre, music has the potential to be "used" as a medium of communication, as its producers are well aware. For example, the film industry has long used music (even during the era of silent movies, where pianists and organists added musical accompaniments) to enhance the emotional impact of selected scenes, and consider the impact that music has on love scenes or in heightening the drama of action movies. Such power has been recognized by a number of commentators, most notably Theodore Adorno. Writing in the 1940s, Adorno argued that the soporific effect of popular music was used as a tool of control as it distracted people from thinking about social consciousness and their role in the world (Adorno 1990, 1991; Negus 1996). This, he argued, was because the popular music required little effort with regard to listening. Indeed the audience, according to Adorno (1991), was encouraged to listen to the most obvious sections of a melody, and not to listen in a critical manner.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Adorno's work, for my own purposes, is his emphasis on the role that intermediate actors in the music industry, such as record producers, advertisers, and disk jockeys, have on how people listen to music, and further, how this influences people's experience of music. For example, Cohen (1994) has highlighted the way in which a "Liverpool sound" has been developed at least partially as a marketing strategy. Similarly, Lehr (1983) and Shuker and Pickering (1994) have emphasized the importance that compulsory "national music" quotas can, or could potentially, have in Canada and New Zealand, respectively. Thus, intermediaries intervene to encourage people to respond to music in particular, necessarily emotional ways (compare Cohen 1994).

Spatial and Temporal Influences

As my comments so far suggest, spatial and temporal contexts are crucial to people's experience of music, and I now turn to these factors in a little more depth. Music accompanies people's daily lives in a whole range of contexts from private spaces like the home to public spaces such as shopping malls and concert halls. Experiences of music take place in specific spatial and temporal settings, but music is not simply performed or listened to in particular settings: it also actively "creates" and "constructs" space. Musical practices can physically structure space through, for example, the segregation of performers and audience members, and can influence people's experience of spaces through, for example, "piped" music in supermarkets (DeNora 2000).

In public places listeners often have very little control over the music that they experience, although jukeboxes are a partial exception to this. In home spaces people have greater freedom to determine the type of music that is played and where and when it can be heard. Given this, people can tailor their experience of music and can create personal soundscapes. Where people listen to music also affects with whom they share their musical experiences. The idea that music can forge social and cultural communities has been explored by a number of commentators.¹² Valentine's (1995) discussion of the use of the music of k. d. lang in producing queer space is illustrative. She argues that lang's music helps form not only queer space, but aids the construction of a lesbian community. However, Valentine emphasizes that the sense of community created at a concert is only a temporary, "imagined" community. Anderson (1991) argued that the notion of an imagined community rests on the idea that people perceive bonds between themselves and others, often regardless of their knowledge about the perceptions of others. This bond is imagined to be strong enough to overcome significant social and cultural differences that could otherwise divide the community. While I agree with Valentine (1995) that the "communities" formed by music are in one sense temporary, it is worth considering whether the experience of comradeship and belonging that she highlights might influence people's lives beyond the performance space.

To explore this further, I draw on some of my own experiences of live performances. I heard Crowded House's song "Weather with You" at one of the band's concerts some years ago. This song had significant success in the United Kingdom in 1992 (it reached number seven in the UK charts) and is especially well liked among fans. When it was performed at the concert that I attended, the crowd (predictably) began to sing along. The feeling of being in a space with hundreds of fans singing along was exhilarating, especially when the band stopped singing the melody and provided an accompaniment to "our" performance. The feelings of excitement, elation, and communion left a lasting impression on me to the extent that whenever I hear that piece of music I remember the performance and all the emotions that went with it. I wonder whether this is a common occurrence and if so, is there the potential for music to influence a more lasting notion of community (on the grounds of race, sexuality, or nationality, for example) through the notion of a shared emo-

tional experience? In other words, can the sense of community experienced through musical performances influence people's experience of self and the more permanent notions of community they experience in everyday life, or are musical experiences and people's recollections of them temporally bounded?

Although I have some great memories from the Crowded House concert, there are plenty of other examples of experiences that I either haven't enjoyed or that I can't remember in any detail. There is no way that an experience of a musical performance can be predicted. Arguably, this is what makes performing and experiencing live music so exciting and enjoyable. At certain times all the elements of experiencing music "click together" to produce something that is incredibly powerful and memorable.

CONCLUSION

Throughout this chapter I have tried to illustrate the importance of studying music as an *emotive* medium of experience and communication. Past commentators have argued that music is important for a number of social processes such as the construction of communities (McLeay 1997; Valentine 1995), and the production of both real and imagined places and spaces (Cohen 1994; Leyshon, Matless, and Revill 1995; Smith 1997). These contributions imply that music is a powerful medium of experience and communication. However, the majority of these commentators have neglected to explore why music is powerful in these ways. I have addressed this omission by arguing that it is the emotive capacity of music, which is in part created through the social, cultural, spatial, and temporal contexts in which music is performed and heard, that makes it such a powerful medium of experience.

While some commentators (Pocock 1989) have emphasized the "natural" tendency for people to have emotional reactions to music, I have argued that this alone is not the reason why people may experience music in emotive ways. Indeed, I have outlined a number of contextual factors that have the potential to affect people's experiences of music. I have also argued that in order to gain a greater understanding of the communicative and emotive power of music, scholars need to explore these factors in more depth.

Recognizing the emotional power of forms of communication and experience, including music, opens up new approaches to understanding social and cultural processes. I would argue that exploration of the role of music in social processes, such as the formation of national identities, *without* consideration of its emotional potential, presents music as an abstract and distanced cultural product, rather than as a phenomenon that is experienced intimately, immediately, and sometimes in nonrational ways.

Putting emotions into geographies of music not only challenges visually biased and overly "rational" approaches, but also prompts a reconceptualization of music as a "living," dynamic phenomenon that people encounter *simultaneously* as a cultural product and as an emotive medium of communication and expression. Incorporating

the emotional into geographies of music encourages a more holistic approach, whereby music retains the dynamism and power that is often lost when it is regarded as a cultural product. This consideration of emotions in geographical inquiry is vital to understanding such phenomena as nationalistic sentiments and other forms of mass affiliation. Think, for example, of how campaign managers deliberate over which pieces of music to play during election campaigns¹³ or how the opening of new state buildings is staged. If music is "used" in these ways by powerful agents, then scholars need to conceptualize it not just as a (signifying) product, but also as a tool for inciting particular emotions.

Developing a methodology that allows music to be studied as a dynamic and emotive phenomenon is by no means easy. I close by acknowledging two important methodological issues. The first is that the language available to describe emotional phenomena is often inadequate. Words regularly fail to communicate the experiences and emotions created through music. Given such difficulties, the second is that researchers may have to rely to an usually great extent on their own experiences of music as a reference point in understanding other people's experiences. Such a self-reflexive approach to research may be beneficial in some ways, but is problematic because it is clear that people's emotional experiences of music are highly personal, as well as socially and culturally specific. Therefore, how can one truly know what someone is experiencing? But the difficulties of studying people's emotional experiences of music do not constitute an excuse for ignoring them. On the contrary, what is needed is creative and sensitive experimentation with empirical methods (Duffy, Smith, and Wood 2001; also see part IV of this volume) through which to gain a greater understanding of the ways in which emotions, mediated through phenomena such as music, affect our experiences of the world in which we live and how, in turn, these experiences affect the formation of subjectivities.

NOTES

1. Since 1927 the Proms have been organized by the BBC. A comprehensive history and virtual tour of the Proms can, at the time of writing, be found at <<http://bbc.co.uk/radio3/proms/lastnight/index.shtml>>.
2. The Union Jack is the British national flag.
3. It is worth noting that although I am moved by the music, my experience of it is complex. While, for me, it undoubtedly triggers feelings of national belonging, these pieces of music are, in many ways, controversial in that they celebrate Britain's imperial and colonial past. Therefore, I experience these pieces of music in a complex and highly contradictory manner. I am moved by the notion of sharing a history and a set of meanings and understandings with a community of people; however, I am uncomfortable with a lot of what that particular "British" history involves. Indeed, for many people (both British and non-British) the music's emphasis on Britain's imperial past may incite feelings of anger and rage.
4. Some authors such as Thrift (2000) and Smith (2000) have argued that studies of performance arts allow for powerful "alternative" ways of knowing and being which, until recently, have been ignored by geographers. It is for this reason that Thrift and Smith both ad-

vocate the development of nonrepresentational styles of geographical inquiry. This is a style of research that attempts to gain a better understanding of the *practices* that sustain and inform the social world, rather than emphasizing the representations that are created through performance. Both of these authors have argued that there is a need for us to reconceptualize the role and function of performing arts, so that we gain a better understanding of how they work as mediums of expression and experience. However, even though the role of emotions is acknowledged in their work, little is said about how or why they are influential in people's experience of place, space, and social relations.

5. By "sound" I refer to what is, or may be heard. By "music" I refer to culturally specific products, which, while possessing aesthetic qualities, can also express and arouse emotions and feelings. This is not to imply that nonmusical sounds cannot or do not have similar qualities, rather it refers to the notion that the expression or communication of emotions is primary in music (Storr 1992). It should be noted that this definition itself is culturally specific to a Western European context.

6. It should be noted that all feminists do not share this view. Feminist empiricists would argue that objectivity is desirable in academic research because it eradicates androcentrism.

7. It is interesting that in order to argue that music can stimulate arousal Storr (1992) returns to technologies that allow him to measure stimulation visually. This illustrates further the significance "the visual" has on modern academic research.

8. Although, as Johnson's (1995) work demonstrates, these conventions are a relatively recent phenomenon.

9. Although some classical performances such as the Last Night of the Proms encourage the partial transgression of such codes of conduct, the audience's participation is still quite tightly regulated by cultural and historical conventions. For example it is permissible to sing during "Rule Britannia," but not during the more formal solo operatic performances.

10. The Budokan is an 8,000 capacity venue in Tokyo.

11. Indeed, during my childhood music lessons I was taught to recognize major and minor keys by learning to identify music as either "happy" or "sad."

12. It should be remembered though that just as music can aid the creation of communities it can also divide and separate social and cultural groups.

13. The example of D. Ream's "Things Can Only Get Better" as part of "New Labour's" 1997 UK election campaign is illustrative.